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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes data collected in the summer of 1970. Fifty-seven groups, composed of two white and two black junior high school boys, were filmed as they participated in a cooperative task. Observers scored task-related interaction and socio-emotional behavior from video tapes of each group. Attitudes and perceptions of one another and of the task of the subjects (Ss) were obtained from interviews with Ss. The study focused on the assertive member of each group to investigate if the race of the assertive affected group members' reactions toward him and his behavior in the group. The investigator predicted that black assertives would not be as well liked nor as highly evaluated as white assertives; and that white subjects would direct more negative behavior toward black assertives than toward white assertives. The hypotheses, however, were not confirmed by the results. The study nevertheless suggests that more cooperative tasks should be used in situations where interpersonal relations are important. In integrated classrooms, a curriculum including cooperative tasks might increase the possibility of interracial harmony. [Because of the quality of the typeface of the original document, some pages will not be completely legible when reproduced.] (Author/JW)

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TECHNICAL REPORT NO. 6

THE EFFECT OF RACE ON ASSERTIVE BEHAVIOR AND RESPONSES TO ASSERTIVE BEHAVIOR IN SMALL GROUPS*

By

Susan Stavert Roper

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Chapter I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: PLACING THE PROBLEM IN A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Problem Defined

Very few issues in education have attracted as much attention as that of desegregation. Americans of various political persuasions have heatedly debated the pros and cons of black and white children learning together. White liberals and black moderates write of the benefits of desegregation for black students. In a discussion of educating black youngsters, Kenneth Clark states, ". . . the goals of integration and quality education must be sought together; they are interdependent." (Dark Ghetto, p. 117) Black militants believe that integration would have several deleterious consequences for black children. In Black Power, Carmichael and Hamilton predict that integration would force the black child to give up his identity and forswear his heritage. (Black Power, p. 55).

The issue of the effect of integration on the education of black children is an important one, but it cannot be pursued in isolation. Integration means that black and white children will be educated in the same school rooms. The impact of integration on whites is relevant because of its effect on black students. If integration is to mean more than racial segregation within the same school, it must mean that white and black students will interact with one another. The "success" of integration may well be related to the quality of black and white interaction. If whites are hostile to blacks or tend to dominate them, the outcomes of desegregation for black students will certainly be affected.

In his article, "Review of Evidence Relating to the Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes," Irwin Katz borrows heavily from psychological research not directly concerned with race, in order to predict the effects of white behavior on black children. (in Education for the Disadvantaged, ed. by Passow, Goldberg and Tannenbaum, 1967) The paucity of educational research on white responses to blacks is apparent in the review. Equally apparent, however, is the need for more research in this area. Katz predicts that white students' behavior toward blacks in integrated schools will greatly affect the black students' academic performance.

Katz states, "One may assume that novel types of contact with white strangers possessa social threat component for members of a subordinated minority group."

"Social threat" makes people anxious for fear they will be harmed. The degree of "social threat" in a situation depends partly upon, ". . . the amount of evidence of white hostility (or the extent to which evidence of white friendliness is lacking)" (Katz in Education for The Disadvantaged, p. 126).

The symptoms of "social threat" are anxiety and social isolation. Many psychological studies have investigated the effects of anxiety and isolation on performance. Most of them find that psychological stress impairs performance. (Deese 1962, Mandler and Sarason, 1962, Spence, 1958, Taylor, 1963) The anxiety caused by "social threat" may impair the academic performance of black students. If blacks believe that good performance arouses hostility in their white classmates, they may lower their achievement rather than risk hostility. Katz reviews a number of psychological studies which found that a person's "vulnerability to stress" is increased under conditions of social isolation. If the hostility and unfriendliness of white classmates isolates the black student, it is reasonable to predict that he would be unable to cope with the further stress of achieving in his studies.

The authors of the "Coleman Report," Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, found that increased interracial friction causes "hardship" for particular pupils. (p. 157)

Teachers reports of increased friction between black and white students were correlated with decreasing achievement for those students. Black children's achievement was affected more by increased friction than white children's achievement. The report states that, "The achievement of Negro students is adversely affected where there is a high degree of friction." (p. 158) The report does not specify, however, the source of interracial friction or the conditions under which it increases.

Two studies have found that blacks are subjected to "social threat" in integrated situations. Yarrow (1958) observed the behavior of black and white youngsters in integrated and segregated summer camps. He found that white children directed twice as much aggression toward black cabin mates as they did to their white peers. Tension symptoms appeared in almost twice as many children in desegregated camps as in the segregated camps. (Katz, *Education for the Disadvantaged*, pp. 132-133.)

Katz and Cohen (1962) conducted a study of black and white college students. The students worked in integrated dyads. One half of the dyads received "Assertion Training" which guaranteed that both the black and whites knew answers to half of the questions on the task, and that blacks were required to state their answer. Subjects in the Control

Condition did not receive Assertion Training; and black partners were less assertive than white partners. On a subsequent judgmental task, black subjects in the Assertion Trained dyads were as assertive on the task as their white partners, but black subjects in the Control Condition were not as assertive as their partners. When interviewed about the task, the whites in the Assertion Trained Condition, underrated the accuracy of their black partners. They were also less likely to prefer working with the same black partner on future tasks than were whites in the Control Condition.

These studies provide some evidence that under certain conditions, whites react negatively to blacks and that integrated situations are stressful. They suggest that in order to understand the adjustment of blacks in an integrated situation, it is vital to study the response of the whites to the blacks in these situations. Theevidence, however, is scanty and out of date. A concomitant of neglecting to study white reactions in integrated groups is neglecting to study the subjective aspects of integration. Few inquiries have been made into the emotional climate of integrated groups, the feelings of affect between group members or the perceptions of group members toward one another. It is in this area where the possibility of "social threat" situations reside. Educational researchers have focused instead on the achievement of black students in integrated schools. Most researchors of integrated schools rely on achievement and I.Q. test scores of black students to evaluate the "success" or "failure" of integration. The proclivity to "measure the measureables" persists in spite of the fact that test scores do not answer many questions which educators and parents consider important.

In particular, test scores cannot answer or even provide any clue to the following questions: Will black and white children enjoy attending school together? Will they like and respect one another? Will they behave differently toward members of their own race than toward members of the other race? These questions demand research in the subjective area of integration and researchers who look at the impact of integration on both black and white children.

This study is an analysis of data collected in the summer of 1970. The area of inquiry is the subjective one of emotional climate, feelings of affect, evaluations and socioemotional behavior in an integrated setting. More specifically, the study will investigate the behavior and attitudes of black and white junior high school boys in small, "task-oriented" groups. The focus is on the assertive member in each group.* The investigator is motivated by two broad questions: (1) Are there any differences between the way black and white subjects feel and behave toward assertive members who are black and toward assertive members who are white in these groups? (2) Is the nature of assertive behavior different for black and white subjects?

---

* Assertive is the rank position number one on initiation and/or influence. (see pp. 98-101)

The practical importance of studying assertive behavior and responses to it, lies in the necessity of school personnel to plan for these differences in behavior in integrated classrooms. School personnel may misunderstand stylistic differences between black and white youngsters and students may suffer from any misunderstanding. School personnel may also have to learn to deal with possible hostility on the part of white students in integrated situations. Unless they are able to cope with white hostility in integrated schools, black childrens' academic performance may be affected.

This study is an analysis of some of the data collected by Elizabeth Cohen in her Expectation Training II project. The major purpose of Cohen's study was to change the racial status ordering in small, "task-oriented" groups composed of two white and two black junior high school boys. The purpose of this investigator's study was to examine the behavior of the most assertive member in each group and the responses of other members in the group to him.

Successful treatment in changing the racial status ordering in the present experiment produced more black subjects who were assertive in their groups than in previous studies in the program. Other studies have also attempted to increase the initiation rate and influence of black subjects in integrated groups. This was the purpose of the previous experiment, Expectation Training I, "Altering the Effects of a Racial Status Characteristic." Lohman's dissertation, "Changing a Racial Status Ordering by Means of Role Modeling," was also concerned with increasing the initiation and influence level of black subjects. The study by Katz and Cohen (1962) was successful in making black subjects more influential in integrated two-man groups.

The interesting question for this investigator is: What happens to the successes of these experiments? In other words, how do group members react to an assertive black? What do they think of him? How do they feel toward him?

Special training to make blacks more assertive in integrated situations may be the result of the above studies. If so, it is important to know if there are any detrimental side effects to the black person who learns to behave in a more self-confident way.

Theoretical Framework

The study is concerned with two problems: Will race have any effect on the attitudes and behavior of group members toward the most assertive member in the group? Also will the most assertive blacks behave differently than the most assertive whites? In order to define this research problem, the phenomena of assertiveness of blacks and whites must be placed in a theoretical framework. Predictions and explanations of group members' attitudes and behavior will be generated from the theoretical framework.

Status characteristic theory is useful in predicting the status ordering of task-oriented groups composed of status unequals. It is also useful in explaining the position of the assertive white and the assertive black in this study.

The Theory of Diffuse Status Characteristics was formulated by a group of sociologists at Stanford University. (Joseph Berger, Bernard Cohen, and Morris Zelditch, Jr.) The theory explains several studies in which the "power and prestige order" in small groups was determined by an outside status characteristic of the group members. The status characteristic determined the power and prestige order whether or not the status characteristic was directly relevant to the group task. A status characteristic is one basis upon which individuals form expectations of themselves and one another. The power and prestige order refers to differing rates of initiation, receipt, evaluation and influence in small groups.

The importance of predicting expectations of group members rests upon the relationship between expectations and performance. There is a large body of sociological literature documenting the close correlation between a person's performance and his own and another's expectations of his performance. The Theory of Diffuse Status Characteristics assumes that the power and prestige order develops in specific situations and is determined by how well group members expect themselves and others to do on the task. That is, if they expect a group member to be particularly skillful in a task, they will listen to him and give him a chance to talk. Since he feels that he is competent, he will probably respond to any opportunity to give his opinion, and will therefore initiate more than a member who does not feel he has much to contribute. His opinions will be evaluated by others and because they expect his ideas to make sense, they will tend to go along with him. He will initiate more, receive more remarks, and be more influential than the subject for whom there are low expectations.

For example, Strodtbeck found that the amount of influence in jury decisions and initiation in jury deliberations was related to the sex and occupational prestige of members in the mock juries. (Strodtbeck, James and Hawkins, 1957) Similarly, Torrance's study of three-man groups com-

composed of pilots, navigators and gunnors revealed that their relative influence on four group tasks depended upon their military rank, even when the task was unrelated to military life. (Torrance, 1954) Of more direct relevance to this study are the experiments conducted by Katz and his colleagues which discovered that initiation, influence and evaluation of black and white group members depended upon their race. (Katz, Goldston and Benjamin, 1958, Katz and Cohen, 1962)

The "empirical regularity" of the findings in these studies was not widely recognized until the Theory of Diffuse Status Characteristics was developed. (Berger, Cohen and Zelditch, 1966) The theory begins by defining the properties that the status characteristics in the above studies have in common. Race, sex, occupational prestige and military rank are all status characteristics which are differently evaluated. That is, it is generally believed in the society that it is in some sense better to be a man than a woman, to be white not black, to be a doctor instead of a laborer, and to be a General rather than a Private. These different evaluations provide the basis for developing general expectations of people who possess one state of these characteristics. For example, if it is "better" to be a doctor than a laborer, people may expect a doctor to be more intelligent than a laborer. Besides these "general expectations," are a series of specific expectations for each state of the characteristic. A specific expectation of sex differences is that men are thought of as physically stronger and more logical than women.

The theory defines a "diffuse status characteristic":

> Definition 1. A characteristic D is a diffuse status characteristic if and only if
>
> (1) the states of D are differentially evaluated, and
>
> (2) to each state, x, of D there corresponds a distinct set of specifically associated, evaluated, states of characteristics, and
>
> (3) to each state, x, of D there corresponds a distinct general expectation state, GESx, having the same evaluation as the state Dx.
> (Berger, Cohen and Zelditch, p. 33)

Race is seen as a "diffuse status characteristic" because: (1) there are different states of race (black and white) which are differentially evaluated; (2) there is a set of specific expectations associated with race (blacks are thought of as being more musical and athletic than whites); and (3) there are general expectations associated with race, (blacks are expected to do less well in a variety of tasks.)

The theory describes the conditions under which the diffuse status characteristic will determine expectations of group members for themselves and others on a new task and thereby determine the power and prestige order in the group.

Expectation Training II meets the following scope conditions specified in the theory: The task is "collective," requiring group members to take into account each other's opinions in making a decision. It may result in success or in failure and it is important to the participants to succeed. Subjects perceive that there is a certain competence which will enhance their chances for success on the task. The task has not been previously associated with race. Finally, participants have had no previous contact with one another and are matched on a number of criteria to insure that there is no basis other than race for discriminating between them.

According to the theory, whites should be the most assertive members in the group. That is, they should initiate the most and be the most influential member in their group. Their positive state of the diffuse status characteristic (white) will produce high expectations for their performance on the new task and these expectations will result in active and influential behavior. The assertive white's performance is balanced with the expectations for his race. The general expectations for his race are positive; and the assertive behavior which makes him the "top man" in the power and prestige order is also evaluated positively.

When a black group member becomes assertive, his performance is not balanced with his state of the diffuse status characteristic (black). The theory defines "balance."

> Definition 2.1 (Balance) A relational unit is balanced in S if and only if its elements have the same evaluation.
> (Berger, Cohen and Zelditch, p. 39)

The black subject who is the most assertive member in his group has a positive evaluation for his performance on the task, but a negative evaluation for his state of the diffuse status characteristic. He is an imbalanced unit because these two elements have a different evaluation. As an imbalanced unit, he is the source of imbalance for the status structure of his group.

> Definition 2.2 A status structure in S is balanced if and only if every relational unit in it is balanced.
> (Berger, Cohen and Zelditch, p. 39)

The Theory of Diffuse Status Characteristics defines the phenomenon of the assertive black as an "imbalanced unit" and the assertive white as a "balanced unit." Balance Theory can be used to generate hypotheses which will predict the relationship between assertive group members and their teammates.

In his book, Balance in Small Groups, Howard F. Taylor, states, "The basic assumption underlying theories of balance is that people tend to organize their perceptions of things in consistent and comfortable ways." (Taylor, p. 11) It is consistent to expect that someone who is superior to another will perform a new task better than that other person. It is uncomfortable to discover, however, that the person who is thought to be inferior actually acts as if he were superior on that new task.

From the beginning work of Fritz Heider, to the balance theorists of today, there is agreement that imbalance produces a state of tension and efforts to restore balance. Imbalance destroys the organization of people's perceptions. This makes people feel uncomfortable and they display their discomfort by showing tension and attempting to restore the more pleasant situation of balance. Heider states, "where balance does not exist, the situation will tend to change in the direction of balance." (Heider, p. 207)

Zelditch, Berger and Cohen explain that,

> By "balance property" we mean that balanced structures are stable, while in imbalanced structures there is tension and pressure to change in the direction of balance.
>
> (Zelditch, Berger and Cohen, p. 272)

Festinger formulates imbalance as "dissonance" and believes that people have a "need" to reduce dissonance whenever it occurs. Osgood and Tannenbaum use the term "incongruence" to describe imbalance. They predict that, "Conditions of incongruence are unstable and are therefore likely to change, whereas conditions of congruence are not." (Taylor, p. 43)

In his review of Balance Theory, Taylor concludes that,

> . . . an assumption underlying all varieties of Balance Theory is that people will always want to reduce tension. It is posited that if high tension is produced by imbalance, then changes toward balance will occur and reduce the tension, since low tension is more desirable than high tension. (Taylor, p. 43)

Specific Hypotheses

Balance theorists agree that imbalance produces tension and attempts to restore balance. There is little agreement and much uncertainty, however, about the specific consequences of tension and the specific ways in which people will attempt to restore balance. Those weaknesses of the theory, though in some respects disappointing, allow one a great deal of freedom in developing hypotheses to predict the consequences of tension and the techniques subjects will use in attempting to restore balance.

One way to measure tension is by the number of tension releasing behaviors on the part of group members. Since imbalance produces tension, the first hypothesis predicts that there will be more release of tension acts in groups where a black subject is the most assertive member than in groups where a white is the most assertive member.

> Hypothesis 1. There will be more release of tension acts in groups in which the most assertive member is black than in groups in which the most assertive member is white.

As the source of imbalance and therefore the source of tension, the assertive black may not be very well accepted by his fellow members. According to balance theorists, people do not like tension. Assuming group members are aware of the person responsible for the tension in the group, they may feel hostile toward him. The second hypothesis predicts that one of the consequences of tension within the group is that assertive blacks will not be as well liked as assertive whites.

> Hypothesis 2. Black subjects who are the most assertive team members will not be as well liked by their group members as will white subjects who are the most assertive members in their group.

If tension is an unpleasant state, groups in which there is a lot of tension will not be as much fun to participate in as groups in which there is very little tension. The third hypothesis predicts that members in groups where whites are the most assertive members will enjoy participating in the game more than members in groups where blacks are the most assertive members.

> Hypothesis 3. Members in groups where whites are the most assertive members will enjoy participating in the group task more than members in groups where blacks are the most assertive members.

The next two hypotheses concern techniques possibly employed in an attempt to restore balance within groups in which a black subject is the most assertive team member.

There seems to be two obvious ways for members in these groups to attempt to restore balance. One way is to attempt to reduce the influence of the assertive black by disagreeing with his suggestions and therefore making it difficult for him to get his way. If this technique is attempted by a white group member, and he is successful, balance will be established. The fourth hypothesis predicts that assertive blacks will receive more negative behavior from white group members than will assertive whites.

> Hypothesis 4. Black subjects who are the most assertive members in their groups will receive more negative behavior from white group members than will white subjects who are the most assertive members in their groups.

Because of the predicted higher incidence of negative behavior toward blacks, it is likely that there will be more blacks who attempt to become assertive and fail, than whites. "Attempted assertion" can be defined by the number of unique suggestions a group member makes during the game. If a group member makes as many or more unique suggestions as the most assertive group member, he will be considered to have attempted to become the most assertive member.

> Hypothesis 4A. More black group members will attempt to become the most assertive member in their group, and fail, than white group members.

The second way balance may be obtained is by refusing to recognize that an imbalance exists. If group members refuse to perceive that the most influential member of their group is black, they will not perceive that there is imbalance in the group. If they are unaware of the imbalance in the status structure of the group, they should not feel tension. They could spare themselves the discomfort of tension by distorting their perceptions of reality.

As Roger Brown, in his discussion of "the Bàlance Model" points out, ". . . thinking is necessary to make imbalance into disequilibrium. One can, therefore, restore equilibrium by ceasing to think about the matter in question." (Roger Brown, p. 579) Similarly, Kogan and Taguiri maintain that,

> . . . the number of subjectively balanced structures occur more frequently than objectively balanced ones, suggesting that people will frequently distort reality in exhibiting a preference for balanced states." (Taylàr, p. 99)

One way to determine if subjects in this study are "ceasing to think about the matter in question" or "distorting reality" is to examine the evaluations group members make of one another. If group members are using this avoidance strategy, one would expect blacks to receive lower evaluations from their group members than assertive whites.

> Hypothesis 5. Members of groups in which the most assertive member is black will less often evaluate the most assertive member as having the best ideas in the group, doing the most to

> guide and direct the group, and being the overall leader of the group, than will members in which the most assertive member is white.

In order to generate predictions concerning the differences between the assertion styles of black and white subjects in these groups, one must compare the differences in group situations that these assertive subjects face. The situation of the assertive black is predicted to contain more tension than that of the assertive white. (Hyp. 1) As the source of tension, the assertive black is predicted to have less chance of being well-liked than the assertive white. (Hyp. 2) Moreover, the assertive black's teammates are less likely to enjoy the group task than are the teammates of the assertive white. (Hyp. 3) In being assertive, the black subject creates an unpleasant situation for his group and they may react to him with some hostility. Assertive blacks will probably have a more difficult time gaining influence in the group than will assertive whites because more negative remarks will be directed toward them. (Hyp. 4 and Hyp 4A) Finally, assertive blacks may go unrecognized as valuable team members. (Hyp. 5)

In short, the situation of the assertive black is predicted to contain more tension, hostility and opposition than that of the assertive white. The assertive black must be able to handle these internal problems within his group.

His ability to lead the group to successful completion of the task will involve his success in coping with the tension, hostility and opposition he encounters. He will be forced into playing a socio-emotional as well as an instrumental role. That is, he must not only direct his attention to the task (instrumental), but he must also manage the emotions in the group which may interfere with maintaining his assertive position (socio-emotional). In a summary of small group research, Sidney Verba explains the predicted problem of the assertive black:

> Insofar as the negative reactions of the followers reduce the extent to which they accept the instrumental directives of the leader or the extent to which the leaderisis motivated to undertake such instrumental directives, the leader will be forced to concentrate more and more on the socio-emotional aspect of group interaction and ignore the instrumental.
> (Sidney Verba, p. 158)

Hypothesis 6 predicts that the behavioral outcomes of the different situations faced by assertive blacks and assertive whites will be initiation of differing proportions of socio-emotional acts; with black assertives initiating a largerpropoportion of socio-emotional acts than white assertives.

> Hypothesis 6. Black subjects who are the most assertive members in their groups will display more socio-emotional behavior than white subjects who are the most assertive members in their groups.

Effects of Expectation Training on Hypotheses

There were three conditions in the experiment. In one condition blacks learned how to build a radio and taught two staff members to assemble it. Expectation Training in this condition was confined to treating black subjects' expectations for themselves. In the other two conditions, black subjects learned how to assemble the radio and taught their future teammates, the two white group members in the game task, how to put the radio together. In these conditions expectations of both black and white subjects for the black teammates were treated.

The investigator predicted that the hypotheses would be upheld in the condition where only black subjects' expectations were treated. In this condition, the white subjects had only the diffuse status characteristic as a basis for forming expectations about their black teammates. Treatment of both black and white expectations should reduce the power of the diffuse status characteristic as a basis for forming expectations for performance on the game task because it introduces to all group members another basis upon which to form expectations for the black teammates. The diffuse status characteristic for blacks is negative and the two related specific performance characteristics, assigned through Expectation Training, are positive. White subjects have a less consistent basis for forming their expectations toward their black teammates in the conditions where those black teammates have demonstrated competence as builders and teachers of a radio set, than in the condition where they had no previous contact with the black group members. The above hypotheses should, therefore, be somewhat weakened in the two conditions where Expectation Training treated expectations of both black and white subjects for black performance.

Summary

The investigator discussed the lack of educational research concerning the subjective area of integration and the reactions of whites in integrated settings. Knowledge about these topics is considered important to producing successfully integrated classrooms, because of the possibility that black students may be subjected to a "social threat" situation which would lower their academic performance.

In this study specific indices of "social threat" behavior and attitudes will be examined in an experimental setting. The indices of "social threat" are: low feelings of affect toward black assertives, substantial amount of negative behavior directed toward black assertives, and low evaluations of the black assertive's contribution to the task. The subjective factor of the emotional climate in the group will also be investigated. Specifically, the enjoyment and tension level of subjects participating in a game will be analyzed.

It is predicted that black assertives will be subjected to "social threat" by their white teammates; the emotional climate of their groups will be tense and unpleasant. The sixth hypotheses predicts that black assertives will respond to this situation by increasing their socio-emotional behavior as they grapple with the tension and hostility in their groups. The increased attention to non-task factors within the group suggests that a "social threat" situation will force the black child to expend his efforts maintaining good relations with whites, rather than performing a task to the best of his ability. The implication of these predictions is that competent behavior on the part of blacks in integrated situations produces hostility and unfriendliness on the part of whites. Blacks respond to this negative behavior and attitudes by behaving as if the successful resolution of emotional strain in their group were more important than the successful completion of the task.

Chapter II

PROCEDURE

The purpose of this study was to investigate assertive behavior and responses to assertive behavior. The overall purpose of Cohen's study was to change a status ordering that emerged on a verbal group decision task. The emerging status ordering is seen as a function of a diffuse status characteristic. In this case the race of the participants was the diffuse characteristic.

In order for a status characteristic to be activated, five conditions must be met.

1. Members perform the task, T, which is valued and collective and in which some outcomes are viewed as successes and others as failures.
2. A characteristic, C, is instrumental to T with one state of C viewed as instrumental to success and positively evaluated and another state of C viewed as instrumental to failure and negatively evaluated.
3. No one has previously assigned states of C to himself or others.
4. Some members of the group possess one state of the diffuse status characteristic and others possess another state.

> 5. The diffuse status characteristic is the only social basis for discriminating among the different members.
>
> (Berger, Cohen and Zelditch, 1966)

The task and subjects were selected to meet the scope conditions of theory. Members in each group were carefully matched on a number of criteria and drawn from different neighborhoods to insure they had no prior contact with one another. Thus, race would be the only diffuse status characteristic upon which group members could form prior expectations. The task originated in earlier research on this project. None of the subjects had previous experience playing the game and thus had no way of knowing who would play the game well and who would play the game poorly. (E. G. Cohen, 1970) Subjects were committed to winning the game and had to reach consensus for each move on the game board. When asked how "important" it was for them to "win" the game, over 95 percent of both black and white subjects said it was "very important," "important" or "somewhat important." (Appendix J - Post Meeting Interview)

SELECTION OF SUBJECTS

The sample is composed of black and white junior high school boys who were drawn from areas between Mountain View, California, to the south and San Mateo, California, to the north. The Field Administrator of the Expectation Training II project gained permission from a number of principals and superintendants within this area to distribute Recruitment Questionnaires to 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th grade boys, (Appendix A, Recruitment Questionnaire). The boys considered for the sample were the ones who mailed the Questionnaires back to the project in self-addressed, postage-paid envelopes.

Recruitment Questionnaires were scored by staff members on the following criteria: attitudes toward school, aspirations for further education, previous experience with building a radio, age, height, race, parental education and parental occupation. The purpose of the questionnaire was to eliminate boys visibly shabbier than others or boys who use very sophisticated language. No children of professionals were included. Parents filled out the items on parental education and occupation. (See Appendix B, Rules for Scoring Recruitment Questionnaire) Boys who had experience building a crystal set or a transistor radio set were eliminated from the sample pool. Each group was composed of two black and two white subjects. They were matched on the above criteria. In addition, they were asked if they had any previous contact with any members of the group to which they were to be assigned. It was usually possible to select four boys from different schools, and often from different communities.

THE TASK

The task in this study has been used in three previous experiments. It is a game of strategy called Kill the Bull, played on a wooden game board. The object of the game is to accumulate as many points as possible on the board and to reach the goal within fourteen turns. Before each turn the group members must decide which path to take. Each space has a number value which is either positive or negative. The group charts a path for six squares and the Host Experimenter rolls a die to determine which of the six squares will be added to the group score, (Appendix F, Game Board).

According to the scope conditions of the theory of Diffuse Status Characteristics, the task must be "valued" and "collective." A "valued" task has some outcomes which are ". . .considered a success and others are considered a failure,". . ." (Berger, Cohen and Zelditch, 1966, p. 34). Lohman, points out, ". . . there is a considerable chance element that determines success or failure for the group decision, . . ." (Lohman, p. 30.) However, in the first study using this task, over two-thirds of the subjects reported that the game required as much or more skill than luck in performing successfully on the task. Lohman explainedthat ". . . the skill in this task appears to be the ability to choose a path with a high likelihood of success for the group and to defend the path against other alternative suggestions that could be made. . . ." (Lohman, p. 30).

The instructions to the game were recorded on tape by the Host Experimenter. While playing the tape, he underscores the recorded instructions by pointing out different paths and numbers on the game board. The taped instructions very clearly state that all decisions are to be made as a team. After the tape is over the Host Experimenter repeats the importance of all group members working together to make their decisions and asks them, "who is to make the decision?" Unless they all reply, "all of us" or "we work as a team" or other responses indicating that they realize the task is collective, the Host Experimenter repeats that all decisions must be made together.

To summarize, the task has three important features. First, the task is collective, requiring fourteen separate group decisions. Second, the task generates considerable discussion and interest among the participants in their attempt to win, i.e., it is valued. Third, the task is ambiguous. Rationally, there is no best path to be found by anyone, except a sophisticated statistician. The ambiguity of the task is important because it allows for several alternative suggestions. It is during the alternative resolving process that a power and prestige order emerges.

EXPERIMENTAL ENVIRONMENT

Most of the groups were run in classrooms of schools located on the San Francisco Peninsula; a few were run in an old house at Stanford University. Students were given transportation to and from the testing site. The field staff was integrated and the Host Experimenter was from the Philippines. He was selected because of his appearance and accent which eluded stereotyping as black or white. His "neutrality" prevented any unintended advantage to group members who would be the same race as a black or white Host Experimenter. The Director of the Field Staff was black. The Trainer was a young black college student and the staff member in charge of contacting and transporting the subjects was white.

Depending on the condition being run, groups took from one and a half to three hours. Subjects were paid $1.50 per hour for participation in the experiment.

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

I. Preventing Contact between Subjects

It was important to prevent subjects from making evaluations of each other prior to the experiment. In order to insure that no prior contact occurred which could serve as the basis for forming individual expectations, several precautions were taken by the staff. When it was necessary to drive more than one youngster at a time to the field site, the radio was turned on rather loudly to inhibit conversation from being initiated. Further, one subject would ride in the back seat and one in front. Occasionally, subjects had to wait a few minutes before participating in the experiment. They always sat in a separate room which was supervised by a staff member. Additionally, view masters and comic books were provided to occupy them at these times.

II. Description of Conditions

The experiment, Expectation Training II, consisted of three conditions. In the first condition only the expectations of black subjects were treated. This condition is referred to in the text as the Black Expectation Condition and in the tables as Condition A. In the second condition, both black and white subjects' expectations were treated, but relevance was not established between the training task and criterion task. This condition is referred to in the text as a Black and White Expectation Condition and in the tables as Condition B. In the third condition both black and white subjects' expectations were also treated and relevance between the training task and criterion task was established. This condition is referred to in the text as a Black and White

Expectation Condition and in the tables as Condition C. The 57 four-man groups were divided equally among the three conditions.

In all three conditions, black subjects acquired competence and were assigned "high" competence on the training task. The process of training and assigning competence is called "Expectation Training." The following discussion describes Expectation Training and the differences between conditions.

A. Acquisition of Competence on Two Performance Characteristics

The two black subjects in each group were taught to build a two-transistor radio set and to name the components, e.g., transistor, resistor, etc., without error. The Trainer, a black undergraduate at Stanford, required each subject to reach criterion on each characteristic. When criterion was reached the subjects were individually videotaped demonstrating putting the radio together (demonstration tapes).

The second performance characteristic entailed teaching another how to build the radio set. The procedure for insuring acquisition of competence on the teaching task was different for the Black and White Expectation Conditions than for the Black Expectation Condition. In the Black and White Expectation Conditions, the two black subjects viewed a film of a black youngster their age teaching a white peer how to build the set. This film served as a role model for these subjects. While viewing the film, four characteristics of effective teaching techniques were highlighted by the trainer. These characteristics included: self-confidence, speaking up, explaining ideas, and letting the student handle the radio parts himself. In addition, the subjects were referred to a large poster beside the monitor which enumerated these characteristics. Following the role-modeling film for the groups in the Black and White Expectation Conditions, and the filming of the demonstration tapes in the Black Expectation Condition, the subjects practiced teaching the construction of the radio set with the Trainer. When they could demonstrate competency in the four characteristics of an effective teacher, one subject taught the Host Experimenter and later the other subject taught the Trainer. In the Black Expectation Condition these teaching sessions with the staff were taped. In the Black and White Expectation Conditions the black subjects were filmed teaching white peers to build the set.

B. Assignment of "High" Competence on Performance Characteristics to Black Subjects

The method employed to assign high competence to the black subjects was positive reinforcement for appropriate behavior outputs. Subjects were verbally reinforced by the

Host Experimenter for the competent behaviors they demonstrated on film. The black subjects were treated (assigned high competence) in all conditions. The white subjects were treated only in the Black and White Expectation Conditions, i.e., they were compelled to recognize and assign high competence to their black "teachers." This was accomplished by the Host Experimenter who elicited from the whites agreement with his assignment of high status to the blacks.

The demonstration film was used to reinforce verbal self-confidence and speaking up. In the Black Expectation Condition, this was done in the presence of the trainer; in the Black and White Expectation Conditions this was done in the presence of the white subjects. All four teaching characteristics were reinforced while viewing the teaching films.

One additional step was included in Condition C (a Black and White Expectation Condition). Before the game task began the two black subjects were taken aside and given a "pep talk" by the trainer. They were told that the same skills which served to make them effective teachers would be relevant to success in the game task. That is he said that verbal self-confidence, speaking up, and explaining one's ideas would make them "better" team members. A clear presentation of treatment in each condition is presented in Figure 1.

III. Specific Elements of Expectation Training

This section presents detailed descriptions of the central elements of Expectation Training. It is included for readers who wish to do a similar study and are interested in the mechanics of the specific techniques the investigators used to alter expectations.

A. Radio Task

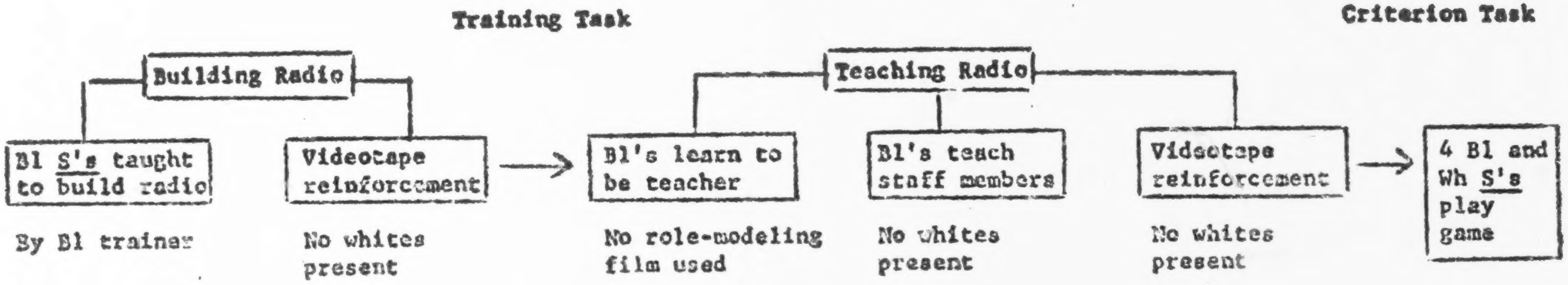
The radio-building task was selected for two major reasons. One, the task is generally highly valued by boys the age of our subjects (11-14). Two, the task does not imply any specific racial expectancy of competence as might have been the case if a sport or music-related task had been selected or if the task had been specifically school related. For a detailed description of the radio set, refer to Appendices C and D.

B. Teaching Process

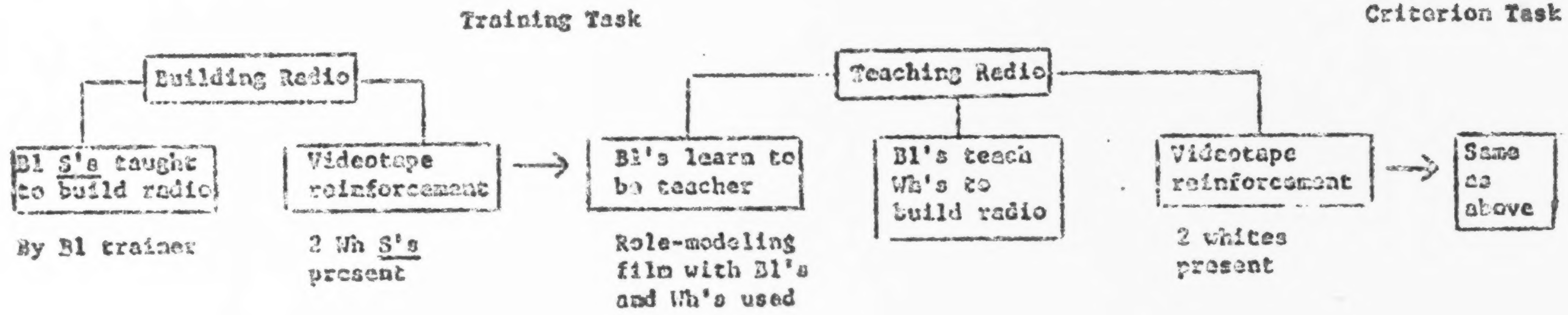
The success of the experiment depended largely on the young man who trained the black subjects during phase I. The criteria for selecting the Trainer were that he be young, black and competent at teaching the task. It was assumed that the black subjects would feel more comfortable with a black Trainer and would feel more affinity with a younger rather than an older person. He dressed in a casual manner--usually levis and a sweatshirt--helping to dispel a "school"

Figure 1

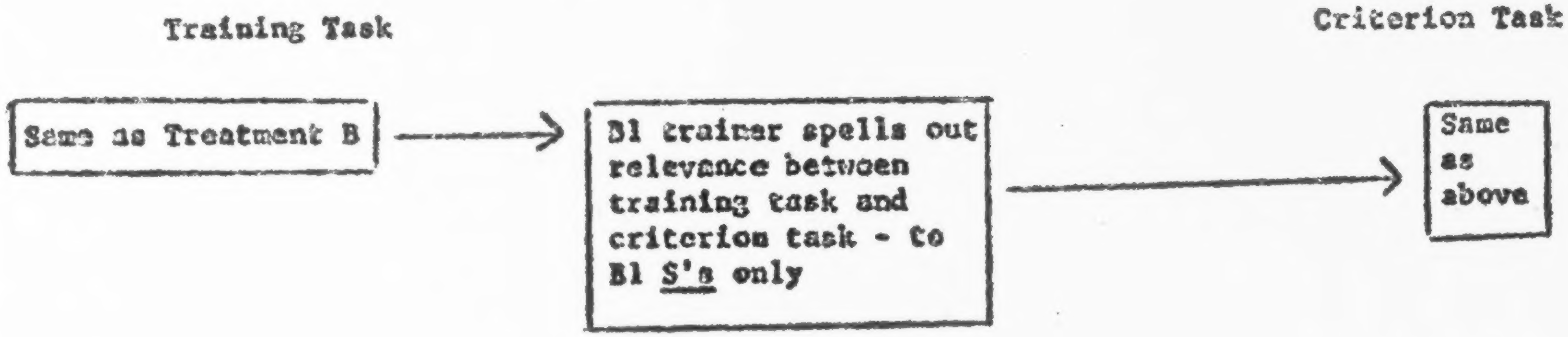
Treatment A - Black Expectation Training


Training Task
Criterion Task
Building Radio
Teaching Radio
Bl S's taught to build radio
Videotape reinforcement
Bl's learn to be teacher
Bl's teach staff members
Videotape reinforcement
4 Bl and Wh S's play game
By Bl trainer
No whites present
No role-modeling film used
No whites present
No whites present

Treatment B - Black and White Expectation Training - Non-Relevance

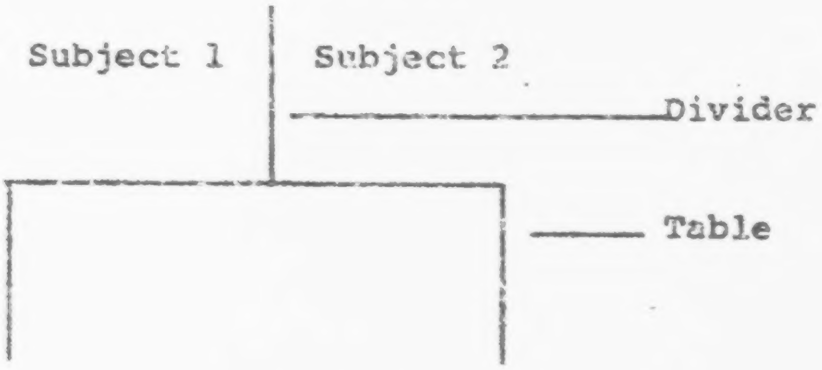

Training Task
Criterion Task
Building Radio
Teaching Radio
Bl S's taught to build radio
Videotape reinforcement
Bl's learn to be teacher
Bl's teach Wh's to build radio
Videotape reinforcement
Same as above
By Bl trainer
2 Wh S's present
Role-modeling film with Bl's and Wh's used
2 whites present

Treatment C - Black and White Expectation Training - Relevance


Training Task
Criterion Task
Same as Treatment B
Bl trainer spells out relevance between training task and criterion task - to Bl S's only
Same as above

atmosphere. His teaching style was quite didactic. He adjusted his approach somewhat depending on the response of the subject. The rather stern approach proved effective and probably necessary, given the time element.

The teaching strategy was fairly systematic. After introducing himself and the nature of the task, the Trainer seated the subjects at a table which was partitioned by a divider.



He then seated himself in front of the table and proceeded to name the components, explain their function and provide the subjects with mnemonic devices to ease identification; e.g., "The ground wire is green like grass on the ground."

The students then practiced putting the set together until they could name the components, explain their function and assemble the set without error.

The Trainer discovered early that he was not preparing his subjects to respond to questions which were asked by some white students. He then incorporated some reasoning skills into his teaching repertoire.

After the subjects had been filmed individually (the demonstration film), they practiced teaching the set to the Host Experimenter and the Trainer. The Host Experimenter and Trainer would ask some questions to give the subjects practice in responding to a variety of questions.

In the Black and White Expectation Conditions a role-playing film was included. The Trainer introduced the film by saying:

> Remember I said that you are going to teach someone your age how to put together the radio. You're going to do that in a few minutes. First, we want to teach you some of the techniques for being a good teacher.

Prior to showing the film, the Trainer revealed the large (2' X 3') poster with the four characteristics of good teaching on it. He explained these points in the following manner:

1. Be self-confident.

   There is no need to be nervous. You know how to build the radio and the guy you're going to teach doesn't. If you make a mistake, continue putting the set together. If you forget a name, think of any name and use it.

2. Speak up.

   Speak up to gain the confidence of your student. Be a step ahead of him at all times. Explain before he can ask questions.

3. Explain your ideas.

> Explain the functions of the parts and anything that you think he only has vague ideas about.

4. Student builds radio.

> This is the most important part of your teaching experience. Let the student do all the work while you do all the talking. You would not have gotten anything out of your learning experience if I'd put the set together. Do you think he would care if you assemble the radio while he watches?

Following the discussion of the poster the Trainer watched the film with the subjects highlighting evidence of the four characteristics. Subsequent to the role-modeling film the subjects practiced teaching with the Host Experimenter or the Trainer as the "student."

In the Black and White Expectation Condition where relevance was established, the Trainer established relevance just prior to the game task by saying:

> Do you remember the techniques for being a good teacher? (He waits for feedback from the subjects.) The first three points are very important to you. They are the same points that will make you a good team member in the game you are going to play. Have confidence in the ideas you might have. If your ideas aren't understood, explain them to the other members of the team. Remember to speak up. Now get in there and play a good game.

The Trainer worked with the subjects until they achieved criterion and so there was some variability in teaching time. The Black Expectation Condition lasted approximately two hours; the Black and White Expectation

Conditions approximately two and one-half hours. A closer, approximate breakdown follows[*]:

1. Black subjects arrive.
2. Teaching the radio: 45 minutes.
3. Filming the demonstration tapes: 10 minutes.
4. Discussion of points on poster and viewing of role-modeling tape: 8 minutes.
5. Subjects teach staff: 13 minutes.
6. White subjects arrive (Black and White Expectation Condition only)
7. Subjects view demonstration film: 5 minutes.
8. White subjects manipulate radio components: 3 minutes.
9. Black subjects teach white subjects: 15 minutes.
10. Subjects view teaching films: 15 minutes.
11. Radio interview: 2 minutes.
12. Establishment of relevance: 3 minutes.
13. White subjects arrive (Black Expectation Condition only).
14. Game task: 20 minutes.
15. Post-game questionnaire and payment of subjects: 10 minutes.

C. Role Modeling

In the previous experiments it was observed that the skills which facilitated influential game-playing behavior were not lacking in the black subjects but rather were not being utilized in face-to-face encounters with white subjects. To effectuate this behavior we included role-modeling as a part of the treatment in the Black and White Expectation Conditions.

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[*] Steps 4 and 6 - 12 omitted for Black Expectation Condition (Condition (A); Step 12 omitted for Condition B (Black and White Expectation Condition).

Lohman (1970) found that role-modeling is an effective technique for producing specific behavior outcomes in a bi-racial setting. While role-modeling is not an appropriate technique for individuals with a behavior deficit, it is appropriate for modifying a performance deficit.

The black role model which was selected demonstrated high competency in the four teaching characteristics outlined earlier. He named the components and explained their functions without hesitation. He assumed a role of "teacher" and remained in command throughout the demonstration. Once he gave the white "student" a direction, the black model patiently waited until the requested behavior was completed and then he reinforced him if he was correct or pointed out the error if he responded incorrectly.

The white role model was very acquiescent; he said nothing throughout the film but remained attentive. This served to highlight the status space between the two.

By viewing the film the black subjects were able to see a black behaving very successfully and authoritatively vis-á-vis a white fellow. It was evident the role-modeling film was an effective teaching technique, as there was considerable stylistic transfer from the behavior of the film model to the performance of the black subjects.

D. Reinforcement

The purpose of the Expectation Training was to train the black subjects to a satisfactory level of competence on building and teaching the radio set and to insure that the black subjects and the white subjects perceived this competence. Positive reinforcement was used to facilitate both goals. It was used to increase the probability that the actor would repeat target behaviors, e.g., speaking up as well as to increase the probability that the white subjects would verbalize their perceptions of competency on the part of the blacks. In accordance with reinforcement theory, the Host Experimenter and Trainer attempted to make the behavior emittance and the reinforcement as contiguous as possible. The films were especially useful as the behaviors were clearly evident during replay and reinforcement could easily follow them directly.

The use of reinforcement was specific. The behaviors that were reinforced had to be of at least criterion level; and clearly perceivable as such by both the actor and the observer.

The Host Experimenter reinforced the black subjects. Being a Filipino with a rather clipped accent, one could not automatically expect that his evaluation could be weighted along black-white racial lines. He was selected for his gentle, sincere manner. He was able to communicate a genuinely positive assessment.

Typical comments by the Host Experimenter to the subjects were: "You seem to know all about the radio, Jack. You did not hesitate naming the parts and you explained yourself as a real teacher." "You speak so clearly. I can really hear you well."
To the whites he would say: "Jack sure knows what he's doing, doesn't he?" (Elicits positive response from white subject.)

There were two specific periods for reinforcement. One took place during the viewing of the video tape showing black subjects building the radio. The other accompanied the video tape of black subjects performing as teachers.

E. Whites Try to Put Set Together Alone

Prior to being taught to build the radio, the white subjects were permitted to view the disassembled set and encouraged to put it together if they could. When the Trainer felt it was clear to the whites that they could not assemble the set (usually after 2 - 3 minutes) the black subjects were brought into the experimental room and the Host Experimenter introduced the subjects to one another. He then explained that the black subjects had just participated in a training program and would teach them how to assemble the radio.

F. Radio Interview

Following the teaching sessions and the viewing of the teaching films, each subject in the Black and White Expectation Conditions was interviewed, (see Radio Interview, Appendix E). The purpose of the interview was twofold: (1) to take a measure just following the manipulation of the perception of black competence by white and black subjects; (2) assuming that the whites would record the perceptions of the blacks as competent, the act of filling out the questionnaire would emphasize the status of the blacks. Thus through a reinforcement program, the blacks clearly viewed themselves as "high status," and the whites were compelled to recognize this high status.

In the interview, over 95 percent of the black subjects reported that they knew more than the white students about building the radio. Only one of the seventy-six white subjects reported that he felt he could have put the set together without the black subject's assistance. All the other white subjects reported that they needed their black teacher's help in putting the radio set together.

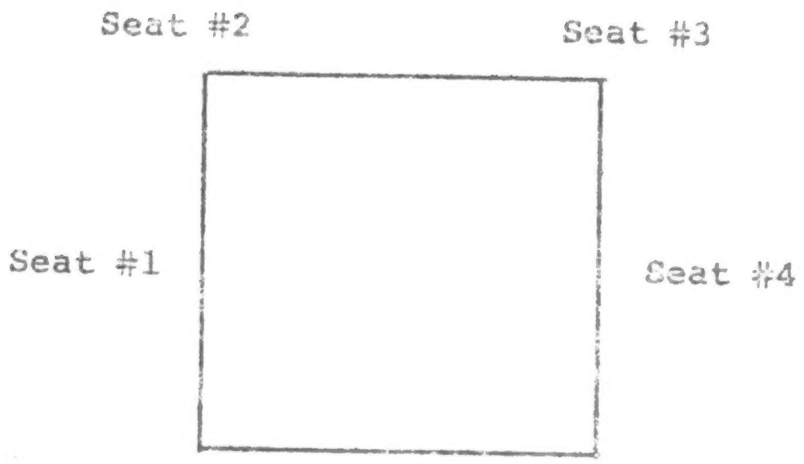
G. Teacher-Student Interaction

One rather outstanding result of the Expectation Training was the facility with which the black subject assumed "traditional" teacher roles and with which the white subjects assumed "traditional" student roles. Perhaps this points to consistency in teacher behavior in the classroom as well as to the strength of the role-modeling film. The "teachers" were always in command of the interaction during the teaching phase and there were virtually no attempts by the white subjects to co-opt the authority of their teacher. The teacher behaved in a very task-oriented manner and reinforced appropriate behavior periodically. The whites were generally acquiescent and attentive and seldom spoke at all. They appeared anxious to put the radio together correctly.

Of the 114 black subjects who received training in building the radio set and teaching how to build it; all were able to build the set and instruct another in doing so. Two subjects evidenced difficulty in speaking the names of the parts, but were able to teach nonverbally. Considering that subjects were not selected on any aptitude or ability measures, this is a finding of interest.

IV. The Game Task

To insure a random seating pattern for the group members, each subject drew a card from a shuffled deck with a number on it. They were seated at a small card table in the order determined by the draw. At this point each subject received a name tag which he wore across his chest. It was thought that knowing one another's name might facilitate



interaction during the game.

The instructions to the game are then played on a tape recorder. The recording was made by the Host Experimenter. After the recording the Host Experimenter repeats the major points and asks if there are any questions. A poster with the four main rules of the game is placed within viewing distance of the subjects. The procedure during the game differed from that of previous experiments in this respect. Formerly the Host Experimenter controlled the chain used to trace the selected path. In this experiment the chain was placed in the center of the game board and one of the group members was free to pick it up and mark the path himself. Some subjects attempted to control the group's decision by grabbing the chain every move and charting the path, and this was scored as a nonverbal act in the socio-emotional category system.

The game usually lasted about twenty minutes. Occasionally groups who would reach the goal in less than fourteen turns would finish the game in ten minutes; other groups might take up to thirty minutes.

DATA COLLECTION

Four observers scored interaction from video tapes of groups playing the game. Two observers, one black and one white, scored task-related interaction and an influence measure. Two other observers, also one white and one black, scored socio-emotional behavior and "Observer Evaluations." Observers watched each turn at least three times before going on to the next turn of the game. In groups where the interaction was particularly lively, observers watched each turn as often as five times. The use of video tapes made it possible to turn the tape back to any part of the interaction which they had trouble scoring, and watch it again. Observers were females who lived in graduate student housing on the Stanford Campus. They scored the video tapes on the equipment brought from the field sites every evening and on weekends.

I. Observation of Task-Oriented Acts

Each subject's verbal responses were recorded in four categories (Type of Act): performance outputs, action opportunities, positive evaluations, and negative evaluations. In addition to this categorization, the scoring system requires designation of the person making the response

(Initiator) and the person to whom the response was directed (Recipient). For a description of Type Act and rules for scoring see Observers Manual. (Appendix G, Observers Manual 1).

II. Influence Measure

The influence measure consists of two parts: unique suggestions and paths followed. Unique suggestions are scored every time a subject explicitly proposes a path or overall strategy to the group. Both verbal and non-verbal behavior is scored. Paths followed were scored each time the group actually followed the subject's unique suggestion as its group path. Paths followed was the main indicator of influence.

III. Observation of Socio-Emotional Acts

A socio-emotional act was defined as a "single continuous speech, expletive or gesture of an individual which is effectively charged or has affective consequences." Verbal and non-verbal acts were scored in four categories. "Group Solidarity," "Release of Tension," "Raising Status" and "Lowering Status." Observers scored the initiator of "Group Solidarity" and "Release of Tension" acts. They scored both the initiator and recipient of "Raising Status" and "Lowering Status" acts. For a description of the category system, (definitions and examples) see Observers Manual 2.

(Appendix H) The investigator is indebted to Robert Bales whose work, Interaction Processes Analysis, provided many ideas which were incorporated in the Observers Manual 2.

IV. Observer Evaluations

Observers who score socio-emotional behavior also fill out an Observer Evaluation form. This form requests observers to make evaluations of the contributions of group members to the task and to describe the interaction between the observer and the leader. Observers rank order group members on the criteria of contribution of best ideas and amount of guidance each subject contributed in the game. They select one group member as being the overall group leader.

Observers are asked to circle one of four categories which best describes the amount of resistance faced by the leader. They also circle one of four categories which best describes the type of resistance the leader faced. Finally observers circle one, two or three categories which describe the way in which the leader dealt with resistance to him. (Observers Evaluations, Appendix I).

V. Inter-Observer Reliability

Observation of Task-Related Acts: Inter-observer reliability checks were made on the basis of independent scorings of the same groups by two observers. Total initiation scores of task acts for the subjects in a given group were compared across observers on the basis of a chi square statistic. At the end of training the observers' data yielded a chi square of .60, df=3. The probability that this difference occurred by chance is estimated to be above .85. Randomly selected checks over the course of the scoring period all yielded probabilities above .85 that the disagreement between observers was due to chance.

Observation of Socio-emotional Acts: Inter-observer reliability checks were also made on the basis of independent scoring of the same group for the two observers. Total initiation scores of socio-emotional acts for the subjects in a group were compared, using the chi square statistic. Observers were trained until they reached a criterion level of at least .20. Random reliability checks were taken after this point. The reliability of observers scoring socio-emotional acts ranged between .48 and .99. Most of the reliability scores were above .90.

VI. Post Meeting Interview

The Post Meeting Questionnaire was divided into several parts. First, each staff member read six different degrees representing the relative importance or unimportance of winning the game. The subject was asked which degree best described his feelings about winning the game. Second, the subjects were shown a diagram illustrating the seating position of the team. They were asked to rank order the team members, including himself, on contribution of _best ideas_, _guidance_, and _overall leader_. He was then asked to rank order his three teammates according to how much he _liked_ and how much he _disliked_ them. Next the staff members read five degrees of enjoyment or lack of enjoyment while playing the game. The subject was asked which of the degrees best described his feelings while playing the game. They were also asked if anything made them angry during the game and if he ever felt at a disadvantage during the study. Finally, the subjects were asked if they would consider participating in another study and if they had any comments to make concerning their experience with the study. (Appendix J)

Chapter III

RESULTS

Introduction

This study uses data obtained from the task interaction as well as data obtained from the socio-emotional interaction observed in each group. Since these groups were instructed to be "task-oriented" it is not surprising that a higher percentage of the total interaction was task-related than socio-emotional. Statistical significance is reported only when $P < .05$. except on Tables 5 and 7 when $P < .10$.

TABLE 1

Frequency and Proportion of All Acts Scored
Classified as Task-Related or Socio-Emotional
for Three Treatments

Condition	Task-Related		Socio-Emotional	
	%	Number	%	Number
A	62.8	2164	37.2	1283
B	56.9	2068	43.1	1565
C	62.5	1799	37.5	1080
A + B + B	60.6	6031	39.4	3928

The above table shows that the condition in which the highest percentage of socio-emotional acts took place was in Condition B, the Non-Relevance, Black and White Expectation Condition.

Strictly speaking, the two classifications of "task" and "socio-emotional" are not mutually exclusive. Because these groups were so "task-oriented," almost all of the interaction was concerned with the task in some way. The socio-emotional categories do encompass some acts exclusively "process" oriented as opposed to "task-oriented" as well as some task acts with socio-emotional qualities. For example there was little double scoring of "Release of Tension" acts. These acts clearly did not fall into any of the four task categories. The "Raising and Lowering Status" categories encompassed some acts which were scored by the observers scoring task interaction. For example, if one subject asked another, "Do you agree?", it was scored as an "Action Opportunity" by task observers and a "Raising Status" act by observers scoring socio-emotional acts. There was also some double scoring of evaluative acts. Although the observers scoring socio-emotional interaction were limited to those acts which specifically included personal reference to the initiator, these acts were also scored in the "Positive" or "Negative" categories. For example, "James is right," was scored as a "Raising Status" remark in the socio-emotional scoring system, and as a "Positive" act in the task-related interaction system. "You guys really messed up," was scored as a "Lowering Status" remark in one system, and a "Negative" act in the other. The investigator recognizes double scoring as a problem in comparing task interaction with socio-emotional interaction, but the alternative of limiting the definitions of socio-emotional categories to strictly non-task remarks would have reduced the number of socio-emotional acts so drastically, that any kind of an analysis would have been impossible.

The socio-emotional life of these groups varied in both quantity and quality of socio-emotional acts. At one end of the spectrum were relatively serious groups whose members seemed engaged in the task on an intellectual level, but showed little joy or dismay at the results of the roll of the die. At the other end of the spectrum were groups composed of boys who could barely stay in their seats for excitement. They moaned and banged their heads on the table if they lost points, and cheered if they gained points.

There were some members of groups who seemed especially sensitive to bringing a quiet member into the action, and in other groups, members were careful to congratulate a "good idea." "Raising Status" remarks were much more common than "Lowering Status" remarks. There was one group, however, in which the members practically wrestled with one another for control of the chain which marked the path on the game board. The feeling of belonging to a group and working together on the task was apparent in the many instances of "Group Solidarity" acts. The pronoun "we" was more common than "I" and comments such as, "We're really doing good," or "We're goin' to make it," occurred often.

In some groups, there was one member, usually the assertive, who was particularly skillful in using a variety of socio-emotional techniques to get his way. He invariably controlled the chain and marked the path to be followed on the game board (scored as "Raising Own Status"). He often had few qualms about pushing other members' arms off the board to prevent competition to his idea, (scored as "Lowering Status"). At the same time, he was clever enough to verbalize all of his ideas in the plural pronoun, "we" saying, "We better get to the goal," or "We changed our minds," (scored as "Group Solidarity"). He reinforced group members who went along with him ("Raising Status") and chastised those who disagreed, ("Lowering Status").

The clinical impression of the investigator was, and is, that most of these very skilled socio-emotional team members were black. The data, however, do not confirm that impression. The following table presents the proportion of all acts scored in a given group that are classified as socio-emotional and assigned to black and white subjects. A mean percentage was calculated for each race, for all the groups in each condition.

TABLE 2

Mean Percentage of All Acts Scored
Classified as Socio-Emotional:
By Race for Three Treatments

Condition	Mean Percentage	
	Black	White
A	32.6	36.3
B	38.8	37.3
C	34.6	36.7
A + B + C	35.3	36.8

Note.--n = 38 for each race in each condition;
n = 114 for each race when conditions are combined.

The mean percentage figure for all black subjects is indistinguishable from that for white subjects. Even when the analysis is restricted to "assertives," the blacks have a mean percentage of socio-emotional acts a mere two percentage points higher than that for white assertives. (Table 18)

The next section presents the theoretical background, indices of measurement and results, across all conditions, for each hypothesis. The final section presents the analysis of the data broken down by conditions.

Results Across All Conditions

Hypothesis 1. There will be more "Release of Tension" acts in groups in which the most assertive member is black than in groups in which the most assertive member is white.

Theoretical Background:

Black assertives are imbalanced units in every condition. Their state of the diffuse status characteristic (black) is negatively evaluated, and their performance in the game is positively evaluated (high initiation and influence). Balance theorists agree that imbalance produces tension. It is, therefore, predicted that groups where a black member is assertive will be more tense than groups where a white is assertive.

Measurement of "Release of Tension":

Tension is measured by a socio-emotional category, "Release of Tension" (RT) (Appendix H, Observer's Manual #2) The effect of the race of the assertive member and all group members on the number of "RT" acts in each group was investigated. The total number of "RT" acts in groups where blacks were assertive was compared to the total number of "RT" acts in groups where whites were assertive. To determine if white subjects release more or less tension than black subjects in the same groups, the percent of "RT" acts attributable to each individual in his group by his race and the race of the assertive was also investigated. That is, black and white subjects in groups where a black was assertive were compared with one another and black and white subjects in groups where a white was assertive were compared with one another. The Randomization Test for Two Independent Samples was used to test significance.

Results:

The results are the reverse of the prediction. Groups in which black are assertive release less tension than groups in which whites are assertive, although the difference is not statistically significant.

A further analysis investigated "Release of Tension" acts by race of subjects in groups where a black member was assertive. The proportion of "Release of Tension" acts attributable to each individual in their group was computed. The percentage of "RT" for each black and each white group member was obtained by dividing the total number of "RT" acts in the group into the number of "RT" acts that individual initiated. The mean proportion was similar for black

TABLE 3

Mean Number of Release of Tension Acts in Groups:
By Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Mean Number
Black	20.9
White	27.6

Note.--n = 24 black assertives; n = 33 white assertives

and white subjects in groups where a black was assertive. However, in groups where whites were assertive, white subjects released more tension than black subjects. The difference is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 4

Mean Percentage of Release of Tension Acts:
By Race of Assertive and Race of Subjects

Race of Assertive	Race of Subject	Mean % of RT Acts
Black	Black	24.7
	White	24.8
White	Black	19.4*
	White	22.3*

* $p < .05$

Hypothesis 2. Black subjects who are the most assertive team members will not be as well liked by their group members as will white subjects who are the most assertive members in their group.

Theoretical Background:

Hypothesis 2 was derived from Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 predicted that group members of black assertives would feel more tension than team members of white assertives. The black assertive, as an imbalanced unit, was seen as the source of tension. It was assumed that team members would recognize the black assertive as the source of tension, resent him for generating the tension, and express their resentment by disliking him. Since Hypothesis 1 was not upheld, there is no basis for the prediction made in Hypothesis 2.

Measurement of Affect:

Degree of Affect was operationally defined as the rank order position given to the assertive by his team member when he ranked all team members on how much he liked them. Each subject was asked to rank order his team members, either 1, 2, or 3 representing his feelings of liking for them. The group member he liked the most was to be ranked in position number 1, the next most, position number 2, and the least, position number 3. The Chi Square test was used to test significance.

Results:

The results are the reverse of the prediction. Black assertives are liked more than white assertives by their team members. This difference does not reach statistical significance. (p < .10)

TABLE 5

Rank Order Position on Liking Given to Assertives
By Their Group Members:
By Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Rank Order Position*			Total
	1	2	3	
Black	53.6% (n=37)	31.9% (n=22)	14.5% (n=10)	100% (n=69)
White	40.0% (n=38)	30.5% (n=29)	29.5% (n=28)	100% (n=95)

Note.--Position 1 indicates most liked team member; position 2 indicates next most liked team member; position 3 indicates least liked team member.

*p < .10

A Chi square test on the rating of black subjects did not reveal significant differences between their "affect rating" of black and white assertives.

TABLE 6

Rank Order Position on Liking Given By
Black Subjects To Their Assertive:
By Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Rank Order Position			Total
	1	2	3	
Black	54.5% (n=12)	36.4% (n=8)	9.1% (n=2)	100% 22
White	46.0% (n=29)	30.2% (n=19)	23.8% (n=15)	100% 33

White subjects in black assertive groups liked the assertive member more than white subjects in white assertive groups, although with a small number of subjects, the difference was not statistically significant.
The value of Chi Square was less than .10

TABLE 7

Rank Order Position on Liking Given By
White Subjects To Their Assertive:
By Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Rank Order Position*			Total
	1	2	3	
Black	53.2% (n=25)	29.8% (n=14)	17.0% (n=8)	100% 47
White	28.1% (n=9)	31.3% (n=10)	40.6% (n=13)	100% 32

*p < .10

Hypothesis 3. Members in groups where a white is the most assertive member will enjoy participating in the group task more than members in the groups where blacks are the most assertive members.

Theoretical Background:

Hypothesis 1 predicted that there would be more "Release of Tension" acts in groups where the most assertive member was black than in groups where the most assertive member was white. Tension was assumed to be an unpleasant state. Therefore, it was predicted that the members of groups which were expected to be tense would not enjoy the task as much as members of groups which were not expected to be tense. Since Hypothesis 1 was not confirmed, there is no theoretical basis for expecting this hypothesis to be confirmed.

Measurement of Enjoyment

In the Post Meeting Interview, subjects were asked to indicate which of the five alternatives best described their feeling while playing the game: (1) enjoyed it a lot, (2) enjoyed it, (3) enjoyed it a little, (4) felt neutral about it, and (5) did not enjoy it. Very few subjects selected categories 3, 4 or 5. The tables, therefore, present the results of subjects who selected either category 1 or 2 as describing their degree of enjoyment while participating in the game task. The Chi Square test was applied.

Results:

The hypothesis is not confirmed. There is little difference between the degree of enjoyment reported by subjects in black and white assertive groups.

TABLE 8

Proportion of Subjects Reporting That They Enjoyed Participating in the Game "a lot": By Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Proportion
Black	73.4% (n = 96)
White	69.5% (n =132)

To determine if the race of the subject had any effect on the enjoyment level of subjects, the results of black and white subjects in black assertive groups were analyzed. Although there is a slight tendency for white subjects in black assertive groups to select "enjoyed it a lot" more than black subjects in the same goups, the difference is not significant. Table 9 also presents results for black and white members in white assertive groups. There are even smaller differences between black and white subjects in white assertive groups than in black assertive groups.

TABLE 9

Proportion of Subjects Who Reported That They Enjoyed Participating in the Game "a lot": By Race of Assertive and Race of Subjects

Race of Assertive	Proportion
Black	
Black S's	60% (n = 48)
White S's	79% (n = 48)
White	
Black S's	67% (n = 66)
White S's	68% (n = 66)

Hypothesis 4. Black subjects who are the most assertive members in their group will receive more negative behavior from white group members than will white subjects who are the most assertive members in their groups.

Theoretical Background:

Negative behavior was predicted to be a technique used by white subjects to establish balance in black assertive groups. If a large number of whites disagreed with the black assertive's suggestions and/or expressed hostility toward him, they would try to discourage him from continuing his assertive role, assume an assertive role themselves, and thus establish balance in their groups.

Measurement of Negative Behavior:

There are two independent measures of negative behavior. One is the number of negative acts directed toward the assertive group member by each member in his group. The analysis was based on a percentage obtained from number of negative acts directed toward the most assertive member by a subject, over the,

Total number of acts that subject directed toward the most assertive member. This was taken from task-related interaction explained in Observer's Manual #1. (Appendix G) The Randomization Test for Two Independent Samples was applied.

Second, the Observer's Evaluations of both the quantity and quality of resistance the assertive group member faced were used as indices of negative behavior. The Chi Square Test was applied. Observers failed to rank three groups, two containing black assertives and one containing a white assertive.

Results:

The hypothesis is not confirmed.

1. "Negative" acts of white subjects toward black and white assertives: The Randomization Test for Two Independent Samples revealed that whites in black assertive groups did not direct significantly more negative acts to the assertive member than whites in white assertive groups.

TABLE 10

Mean Proportion of All Task Acts Scored as Negative Directed Toward Assertives By White Subjects

Race of Assertive	Mean Proportion
Black	13.8%
White	11.6%

Note.--The proportion was based on the number of negative acts directed toward an assertive by a subject divided by the total number of acts directed toward an assertive by that subject.

2. Observer's Evaluation of the "Quantity of Resistance" faced by the Assertive Member: The quantity of resistance faced by an assertive group member was described by the following categories: (1) he had a very difficult time getting his suggestions followed; (2) he had a moderate amount of difficulty; (3) he had a fairly easy time getting his way, and, (4) he had very little resistance, almost no disagreement. If the categories are dichotomized, looking at black and white assertives who had a "moderately difficult" or "very difficult" time and those who had an easy time getting their way, the following result was found: There are no significant differences between the quantity of resistance faced by black assertives and the quantity of resistance faced by white assertives.

TABLE 11

Probability of Observers Scoring Resistance Faced by Assertives as "Moderately Difficult" or "Very Difficult": by Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Probability
Black	41%
White	31%

Note.--n = 22 for black assertives; n = 32 for white assertives.

3. Observer's Evaluation of the Quality of Resistance Faced by the Assertive Member: Observers choose one of the three categories to describe the type of resistance faced by an assertive group member: (1) Mainly counter-suggestions, other members offer competing suggestions to those of the leader, (2) Mainly task disagreements with the leader's suggestions, (3) task disagreements or counter-suggestions plus personal negative evaluations. If none of the above described the task situation of the assertive group member, the observers did not circle any category. Table 12 looks at those assertives whose resistance was mainly counter-suggestions and those assertives whose resistance contained disagreement with his suggestions and/or personal negative evaluation. The type of resistance faced by white and black assertives is not significantly different.

TABLE 12

Probability of Observers Scoring
Counter-Suggestions as the Type of
Resistance Faced by Assertives:
by Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Proportion
Black	55%
White	64%

Note.--n=22 for blacks; n=32 for whites.

Hypothesis 4A. More black group members will attempt to become the most assertive member in their group and fail than white group members.

Theoretical Background:

This hypothesis rests on Hypothesis 4 which predicted that black assertives would have more negative behavior directed toward them than white assertives. If white subjects actually did direct a lot of negative behavior toward blacks, some black subjects might be unseated from an assertive position. This hypothesis was included because the investigator wanted to know if there were a significant number of blacks who tried to become the most assertive member in their group and failed. Since Hypothesis 4 was not confirmed, there is no theoretical basis for assuming that this hypothesis will be confirmed.

Measurement of Attempted Assertion:

Attempted assertion is defined by the number of "unique suggestions" a group member makes. If a group member makes the same number or more unique suggestions than the assertive in his group, he is considered to have attempted to become the most assertive group member. The Chi Square Test was applied.

Results:

The hypothesis is not confirmed. White subjects are slightly more likely to attempt to become assertives in both black and white assertive groups than are black subjects. A higher percentage of both black and white subjects attempt to become assertives in groups where a white is assertive than in groups where a black is assertive.

Hypothesis 5. Members of groups in which the most assertive member is black will less often evaluate the most assertive member as having the best ideas in the group, doing the most to guide and direct the group, and being the overall leader, than will members of groups in which the assertive member is white.

Theoretical Background:

It was predicted that group members would ignore a black assertive's superior performance as a technique to maintain balance in their groups. Refusal to be aware of the black assertive's performance would spare the group members

TABLE 13

Proportion of Subjects Making the Same or a Greater Number of Suggestions than the Assertive: By Race of Subject and Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Race of Subject	Proportion
Black	Black (n=24)	12.5%
	White (n=48)	14.6%
White	Black (n=66)	16.6%
	White (n=33)	21.1%

the knowledge of imbalance in their group and they would thereby avoid the tension which is generated by imbalance.

Measurement of Evaluations:

Subjects rated one another on the basis of leadership, best ideas and guidance contributed in the game. First, the subjects' rating of the assertive group member, including his rating of himself on these three indices was analyzed. Second, the degree of consensus about the assertive group member, excluding his ratings of himself was investigated. The Chi Square Test was used to test significance.

Results:

The hypothesis is not confirmed.

1. Leadership: Subjects rated one another on the basis of leadership by selecting one group member who stood out as the "overall" group "leader." (Appendix I, Post Meeting Interview) Black assertives were slightly more likely than white assertives to be rated as "leader" by both black and white group members. The difference in rating of black and white assertives by their teammates, is significant.

TABLE 14

Proportion of Most Assertive Members Chosen
as "Overall Leader" by his Teammates:
By Race of Assertive and Race of Rater

Race of Assertive	Race of Rater	Proportion*
Black	Black (n=48)	64%
	White (n=48)	78%
White	Black (n=66)	50%
	White (n=66)	56%

* $p < .05$

2. Ideas and Guidance: The results present the percentage of black and white subjects who rated the assertive group member as third and fourth rank when asked to rank order their

team members on the index of best ideas contributed to the game and amount of guidance and direction contributed to the game. If the assertive group member who is the "top man" on initiation and/or influence is rated third or fourth, he is considered to be underrated. On both indices of ideas and guidance, blacks underrate black assertives less than blacks underrate white assertives, but the differences are small and not significant. A similar percentage of white subjects underrate black and white assertives on both indices of guidance and ideas.

TABLE 15

Proportion of Most Assertive Members Who Were Rated Rank Order Position 3 or 4 on Best Ideas: By Race of Assertive and Race of Rater

Race of Assertive	Race of Rater	Proportion
Black	Black (n=48)	17%
	White (n=48	15%
White	Black (n=66)	20%
	White (n=66)	14%

TABLE 16

Proportion of Most Assertive Members in Group Being Rated Rank Order Position 3 or 4 on Guidance: By Race of Assertive and Race of Rater

Race of Assertive	Race of Rater	Proportion
Black	Black (n=48)	13%
	White (n=48)	15%
White	Black (n=66)	21%
	White (n=66)	14%

3. Degree of Consensus: The assertive's ratings were excluded in this analysis in order to avoid a "false modesty" effect on the results. If two of the three teammates, or all three teammates agreed that the assertive was, (1) leader, (2) top rank man on "best ideas," (3) top rank man on "guidance," the group was defined as having consensus about the assertive. The black assertive's teammates had a greater degree of consensus that the assertive was the "leader," the "top man" on ideas contributed to the game and the "number one man" on guidance contributed to the game, than did the white assertive's teammates. None of the differences were significant.

TABLE 17

Proportion of High Consensus Groups
on Indices of Leadership,
Best Ideas and Guidance

Index	Black (n=24)	White (n=33)
Leadership	79.2%	60.6%
Best Ideas	79.2%	66.6%
Guidance	70.8%	63.6%

Note.--"High Consensus" means 2 or 3 of the assertive's teammates rated the assertive as rank order position 1 on leadership, best ideas and guidance.

Hypothesis 6. Black subjects who are the most assertive members in their groups will display more socio-emotional behavior than white subjects who are the most assertive members in their groups.

Theoretical Background:

Hypotheses 1-5 predict that the black assertives will have a more difficult time maintaining influence than the white assertives. It was predicted that he would receive more negative behavior from white subjects than the white assertives, (Hyp. 4); that he would not be as well liked (Hyp. 2) or as highly evaluated as the white assertive,(Hyp.5). The group in which he participated was predicted to be more tense (Hyp. 1) and less enjoyable (Hyp. 3) than groups in which whites were assertive. To deal with these difficulties, it was predicted that he would have to spend more time than the white assertive in the areas of smoothing out feelings, making friends or handling hostility and would thereby display more socio-emotional behavior.

Measurement of Socio-Emotional Behavior:

There were two independent measures of socio-emotional behavior. The first is based on socio-emotional "acts" of the assertive group members that were scored by observers in the socio-emotional category system. To control for overall amount of interaction, the assertive's number of socio-emotional and task acts were added together. The proportion of socio-emotional acts was determined by dividing the number of socio-emotional acts and task interaction combined, into the number of socio-emotional acts. The Randomization Test for Two Independent Samples was applied. Socio-emotional behavior was also measured by observers who described the way in which the assertive member dealt with resistance. Observers' evaluations are based on twenty-two black assertives and thirty-three white assertives. Socio-emotional acts and Task acts were scored for the twenty-four black and thirty-three white assertives. The Chi Square statistic was used to test significance.

Results:

The hypothesis is not confirmed. The difference in the mean proportion of all acts initiated by black and white assertives which were classified as "socio-emotional" is very slight and not statistically significant.

TABLE 18

Mean Proporation of Socio-Emotional Acts
Initiated by Assertives
By Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Mean Proportion
Black (n=24)	42.4%
White (n=33)	40.4%

Observers selected one or more of the following categories to describe the way in which assertive group members dealt with resistance: (1) "used logical task-oriented explanations to support his suggestions," (2) "won support for his suggestions by being friendly and supportive to others in the group," (3) "tried to initimidate the other members by ignoring disagreement and being hostile to other suggestions."

The categories were divided between purely "task-oriented" behavior (Category 1) and other categories indicating some kind of socio-emotional behavior in dealing with resistance (Categories 2 and 3). White assertives used a purely "task-oriented" technique for dealing with resistance more often than black assertives but the differences are not statistically significant.

TABLE 19

Probability of Observers Scoring "Used Logical Task-Oriented Explanations" as the Way in Which the Assertive Dealt With Resistance: By Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Probability	N
Black	13.3	22
White	35.4	32

Results Comparing Black Expectation Condition to Black and White Expectation Conditions

In the Black and White Expectation Conditions, white subjects as well as black subjects had another basis besides race on which to form expectations for the performance of black teammates in the game. During Expectation Training in these Conditions, black subjects were assigned a high status as a teacher and builder of a transistor radio, and white subjects saw that the blacks were competent at both teaching and building the radio. Expectations could be based on these two related, positive, performance characteristics or on the negative state of the diffuse status characteristic. Subjects might also combine the information from both these sources in forming their expectations. Therefore, it was predicted that the hypotheses in the study would not be as strongly upheld by the results in the Black and White Expectation Conditions as in the Black Expectation Condition where whites did not have any positive basis upon which to form expectations for their black teammates.

Specifically, there should be more "Release of Tension" acts in black assertive groups in the Black Expectation Condition (Condition A) than in the Conditions where both blacks and whites expectations are treated (Conditions B & C). Black assertives should be better liked by their teammates in the Conditions B and C than in Condition A. Subjects should enjoy participating in black assertive groups less in Condition A than in Conditions B and C. Black assertives should receive less negative behavior in the Conditions where both black and white expectations are treated (Conditions B and C) than in the Condition where only black subject's expectations are treated (Condition A). Black assertives should be evaluated higher in Conditions B and C than in Condition A. Finally, black assertives should initiate a smaller proportion of socio-emotional behavior in Conditions B and C than in Condition A.

The following results compare the Black Expectation Condition (Condition A) to the Black and White Expectation Conditions (Conditions B and C). There were nineteen groups run in each of the three conditions. The results in the two Black and White Expectation Conditions have been combined in the tables below (Conditions B and C). Some results found in the previous section have been omitted here because of the small number of cases.

"Release of Tension": Table 20, presents the results of the mean number of "Release of Tension" acts in black and white assertive groups in Condition A and in Conditions B and C. The mean number of "Release of Tension" acts in black assertive groups in Condition A is higher than the mean number of "Release of Tension" acts in black assertive groups in Conditions B and C. Subjects in white assertive groups in Conditions B and C, release more tension than subjects in black assertive groups in the same conditions. Subjects in black assertive groups in Condition A release very slightly more tension than subjects in white assertive groups in the same condition.

TABLE 20

Mean Number of Release of Tension Acts in Groups:
By Race of Assertive and Condition

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	24.3% (n=6)	20.3% (n=18)
White	22.4% (n=13)	29.3% (n=20)

Degree of Affect: Table 21 presents the proportion of black subjects who reported that they liked the assertive the best in their group in Condition A and Conditions B and C. A higher proportion of black subjects reported that they liked the black assertive the best in Conditions B and C than in Condition A. More black subjects reported that they liked the white assertive the best in Condition A than in Conditions B and C.

Table 22 presents the proportion of white subjects who reported that they liked the assertive the best in Condition A and Conditions B and C. More white subjects in black assertive groups reported that they liked the assertive best in all conditions than white subjects in white assertive groups.

TABLE 21

Proportion of Black Subjects Who Reported That They Liked the Assertive Best: By Race of Assertive and Condition

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	33.0% (n=2)	53.5% (n=10)
White	50.0% (n=13)	41.0% (n=16)

TABLE 22

Proportion of White Subjects Who Reported They Liked the Assertive Best: By Race of Assertive and Condition

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	58.0% (n=12)	51.5% (n=19)
White	31.0% (n=4)	27.5% (n=5)

Level of Enjoyment: More black and white subjects in white assertive groups selected the category "enjoyed it a lot" than subjects in black assertive groups in Condition A. A higher percentage of black subjects in black assertive groups in Conditions B and C reported that they enjoyed the game "a lot" than in Condition A. White subjects in black assertive groups in Conditions B and C were more likely to report that they enjoyed the game "a lot" than were white subjects in white assertive groups in the same conditions.

TABLE 23

Proportion of Black Subjects Who Reported
That They Enjoyed the Game "a lot":
By Race of Assertive and Condition

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	50% (n=6)	67% (n=25)
White	62% (n=16)	67% (n=28)

TABLE 24

Proportion of White Subjects Who Reported
That They Enjoyed the Game "a lot":
By Race of Assertive and Condition

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	58.0% (n=7)	84.5% (n=31)
White	77.0% (n=20)	62.5% (n=25)

Amount of Negative Behavior: Black assertives received slightly less negative behavior from white subjects in Condition A than in Conditions B and C. Black assertives received more negative behavior than white assertives in Condition A and about the same proportion of negative behavior as white assertives in Conditions B and C.

Evaluation of Assertives: A higher proportion of both black and white subjects chose the black assertive as "overall leader" in all Conditions, than the white assertive.

TABLE 25

Mean Proportion of All Task Acts Scored as Negative Which Were Directed Toward the Assertives by White Subjects: By Race of Assertive and Condition

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	23.7%	27.6%
White	19.5%	27.1%

TABLE 26

Proportion of Black Subjects Who Chose the Assertive in Their Group as the "Overall Leader": By Race of Assertive and Condition

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	70% (n=7)	56% (n=20)
White	60% (n=15)	49% (n=18)

TABLE 2.

Proportion of White Subjects Who Chose the Assertive in Their Group as the "Overall Leader": By Race of Assertive and Condition

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	83.0% (n=10)	78.5% (n=27)
White	58.0% (n=15)	54.0% (n=22)

There was a higher proportion of high consensus groups in which blacks were assertive, than in which whites were assertive, on the indices of best ideas and leadership in all conditions. On the index of guidance, there is a similar proportion of high consensus groups for black and white assertives in Condition A, but a higher proportion of high consensus black assertive groups in Conditions B and C.

TABLE 28

Proportion of High Consensus Groups on
Indices of Leadership, Best Ideas,
and Guidance: By Condition

Condition	Leadership	Best Ideas	Guidance
A			
Black Assertive	83.0% (n=5)	83.0% (n=5)	66.0% (n=4)
White Assertive	69.0% (n=9)	77.0% (n=10)	69.0% (n=9)
B & C			
Black Assertive	79.0% (n=14)	79.0% (n=14)	74.5% (n=13)
White Assertive	52.0% (n=11)	56.0% (n=12)	58.8% (n=12)

Proportion of Socio-Emotional Behavior: Black assertives initiated a slightly higher proportion of socio-emotional acts in Condition A than in Conditions B and C. Black assertives initiated a slightly higher proportion of socio-emotional acts than white assertives in all conditions, although the differences in proportions between black and white assertives are smaller in Conditions B and C than in Condition A.

TABLE 29

Mean Proportion of All Acts Scored as Socio-Emotional Which Were Initiated by the Assertive: By Race of Assertive

Race of Assertive	Condition	
	A	B & C
Black	44.5%	42.3%
White	40.9%	40.0%

Chapter IV

INTERPRETATION

Introduction

It was predicted that assertive behavior on the part of a black group member would produce negative reactions from white teammates and these white reactions would affect the black assertive's behavior. The investigator was concerned with this possibility because of the broader implications of the prediction for desegregated classrooms. Specifically, if superior performance on the part of a black student elicits hostile and unfriendly reactions from white students, the black student may lower his academic performance level to avoid these reactions to him. Irwin Katz hypothesizes the hostility of white students as "a social threat component" for black students. Black students might attempt to minimize social threat by decreasing their interest and competence in school work.

The results indicate that under certain conditions, assertive blacks do not receive negative behavior or attitudes from white teammates and do not behave differently from assertive whites. In Katz' terms, the assertive black subjects in this study are not subjected to a "social threat component." They are, therefore, not forced to behave in a way which would reduce white hostility. The behavior of white and black assertives is very similar and they are treated and perceived similarly by group members.

The black assertive is liked as well or better by white subjects as the white assertive. The black assertive's contribution to the game is evaluated as high or higher than that of white assertives. White subjects do not direct significantly more negative behavior to black than to white assertives. Subjects in groups where blacks are assertive release less tension than subjects in groups in which whites are assertive and report that they enjoy the game "a lot" as often as subjects in white assertive groups. Finally, the black assertives do not initiate a significantly larger proportion of socio-emotional behavior than the white assertives.

The important question to answer is, "What were the conditions which produced these results?" Three possible explanations will be investigated. First, the results in the condition where only black expectations were treated will be compared to the results in the conditions where both black and white expectations were treated to determine the impact of Expectation Training for subjects of both races on the results. Second, the nature of the task will be examined and literature relevant to the effect of task structure on group interaction will be reviewed to gain insight into the relationship between the task and results in this study. Finally the broader social condition of racial relations in the society at large will be considered to explore the possibility that changes in the society may have been reflected in the small groups. Before these considertations can be investigated, the validity of this particular study must be questioned. In particular, the investigator will examine the possibility that the results were affected by an inappropritate theoretical framework and by artifacts of measurement.

Examination of the Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework provides the basis for generating specific hypotheses. It, therefore, determines what elements and relationships the investigator will examine. If the theoretical framework is an inappropriate one for a study, the researcher may find that he had concentrated his attention on inconsequential or peripheral issues and overlooked the central ones. Once the framework is adopted and the results are gathered within the framework, however, it is merely "post hoc" guessing to assume the study would have been more valuable if a different theoretical framework had been selected. One is nevertheless obliged to discuss the possible inadequacies of the theoretical framework of one's study in order to inform other researchers of the possible perils of using the same framework for similar studies. The following discussion suggests some difficulties with using Balance Theory as the theoretical framework in this study.

The Diffuse Status Characteristic of race is a very different independent variable from those used in most studies of balance. Typical examples of variables used in balance studies are "like" vs. "dislike" or "agreement" vs. "disagreement." They share the quality of being clearly positive or negative. The theory is appropriate for these variables. The theory states that imbalanced structures will change in the direction of balance. If p likes o, but disagrees with him, several hypotheses can be generated from the theory. For example, p may decide that he does not like o or that he does not disagree with o. P may try to change o's mind or decide that the issue of disagreement is not important. Many studies have examined these and similar hypotheses generated from Balance Theory.

The concept of Diffuse Status Characteristics does not as easily fit into the balance formulation because there are both positive and negative elements in each state of the Diffuse Status Characteristic. The overall "general expectation state" for the black subjects is considered to be negative, but there are several expectations which are positive. For example, blacks are seen as athletic or musical. Although the black and white state of the Diffuse Status Characteristics of race have been referred to as being differentially evaluated, it is misleading to equate these concepts with those used in most balance studies. They are not totally negative or totally positive in the same sense that the concepts of like vs. dislike are.

Another difficulty with the concept of Diffuse Status Characteristics is determining its relative weight vis á vis the specific performance characteristic on the game. Newcomb, one of the first balance theorists, introduced the idea of "strength" or degree of difference in weight between two factors that are imbalanced. (Taylor, p. 22) For example, if p likes o a great deal and does not care too much about the issue over which they disagree, liking would have a greater relative weight than disagreement. It might be formulated as a plus three liking and a minus one disagreement. This is an important concept because it gives the balance theorist greater precision in predicting how balance will be restored. According to Rosenberg's and Abelson's "principle of least cost," balance will be restored requiring the fewest number of sign changes. (Taylor, p. 38) In the above example, balance theorists would predict that balance would be restored by a change in the disagreement factor, since this would require fewer sign changes than changing liking.

The Theory of Diffuse Status Characteristics does not specify the strength of the Diffuse Status Characteristics as opposed to a specific performance characteristic. It would depend upon which Diffuse Status Characteristic and which specific performance characteristic are in an imbalanced state. It would also depend upon each individual's perception of the characteristics. For some subjects, race may be much more important than any perceived competence on a specific task. For others, a specific performance competence may have greater weight than the Diffuse Status Characteristic.

A third problem with applying Balance Theory to the concept of Diffuse Status Characteristics is the possibility that the Diffuse Status Characteristic was not activated for some individuals. If there were any black or white subjects who did not negatively evaluate the state of being black or positively evaluate the state of being white, those subjects did not perceive imbalance when a black subject became assertive. Balance theory is completely inappropriate for these subjects and all the predictions based on the theory should not be expected to hold.

By definition, a "balanced group" existed only if all members in the group were in a balanced state. Because the black assertive is an imbalanced unit, the group of which he was a member is considered to be imbalanced. A group in which a white group member was assertive is considered to be balanced. This formulation ignores the problem of the unassertive white subject in a group where the other white was assertive. He is also in an imbalanced state, with a positive state of the Diffuse Status Characteristic, and a negative state of the specific performance characteristic. The balance formulation in this study focused on the assertive and did not take into account the imbalance of the other white subject in groups where one white was assertive.

The use of Balance Theory in this study is seriously complicated by the effect of Expectation Training on the balance or imbalance of group members. The assumption of the study was that black assertives are imbalanced units and white assertives are balanced units. In the condition where only black expectations for their own performance were treated, black subjects may not have perceived imbalance if their black teammate or even they, themselves, became assertive. More critical, however, is the effect of Expectation Training when both black and white subjects' expectations for black subjects were altered. In these conditions both black and white subjects knew that blacks were assigned a high state on two related performance characteristics, building a transistor radio and teaching a white subject how to build the radio. Whiteswere not explicitly assigned any state on these performance characteristics. However, black and white subjects could assume that whites were "low" on the performance characteristics. If subjects assigned white assertives a low state on the performance characteristics related to the radio, white assertives would also be imbalanced units. If, or when this occurred, Balance Theory would be an inappropriate framework for predicting the results. Black assertives and white assertives may have entered the game task with opposite states of Diffuse Status Characteristic and the two related performance characteristics.

Tension is a central part of Balance Theory and was a major concept in formulating the hypotheses of this study. Indeed, most of the hypotheses were derived from the assumption of Balance Theory that imbalance generates tension. The investigator confined measurement of tension in this study to acts which demonstrated "release of tension." If tension were felt, but not expressed by any "Release of Tension" act, it was not measured. (See Obervers' Manual II, Appendix H) Thus, it is possible that tension experienced by group members was not measured.

Problems with measuring tension are not peculiar to this study. Taylor points out that, ". . . the lack of agreement in the theoretical literature on how to conceptually define tension has been (in part) responsible for a number of divergent procedures for measuring tension in experiments and studies." (Taylor, p. 276) Until consensus on a definition of tension is reached and reliable measuring instruments are developed, every study which purports to measure tension is subject to question.

A beginning attempt to conceptualize tension would be to distinguish between tension build-up and tension release. There are four stages predicted by Balance Theory: imbalance, tension, change toward balance and tension reduction. (Taylor, p. 113) The qualitative differences between tension and tension reduction must be specified before they can be measured. It may have been unwise to rely so heavily upon a concept that is undefined and difficult to measure.

A final problem with the selection of Balance Theory as the framework for this study is the lack of scope conditions developed in the theory for interaction situations. Most balance studies examine changes in attitude by means of interview or questionnaire. Formulating hypotheses for restoring balance through interaction is a more complicated phenomenon to predict and measure. The investigator did not have the benefit of previous studies to predict how imbalanced four-man groups would interact with one another.

To summarize, there are three major problems with the use of Balance Theory for this study. First the complexity of the concept of Diffuse Status Characteristics and the intervention of Expectation Training prevents a clear-cut identification of balanced or imbalanced situations. Second, the phenomenon of tension is difficult to define and measure. Third, there is very little in the way of theoretical guidelines for generating predictions concerning behavioral interaction from Balance Theory.

Problems of Measurement

The two concepts which were the most difficult to define and measure were: (1) "assertives" and (2) "socio-emotional" behavior.

"Assertives" were identified in two ways: (1) the group member who was both the highest initiator and most influential in his group was selected as the group's assertive; and, (2) if the "top" initiator was not the most influential member in the group, the Observer's evaluation of who was the "leader" of the group was used to identify the assertive, restoring balance through interaction is a more complicated phenomenon to predict and measure. The investigator did not have the benefit of previous studies to predict how imbalanced four-man groups would interact with one another.

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In almost half of the groups the "assertive" was identified by the Oberserver's Evaluation of leadership.

It may be objected that if the assertive were not both the "top" initiator and most influential member in the group, it might be unwise to consider him as the most assertive member in the group. "Assertiveness" implies a combination of having many suggestions in the game and being persuasive enough to gain agreement with those suggestions. These qualities should be reflected in both the initiation and influence measure. Therefore, the "assertives" defined by Observer Evaluation of leadership may not have behaved in a truly assertive fashion in the group and the lack of confirmation of the predictions could be attributed to the broad definition of "assertiveness."

The investigator analyzed the data again, excluding all those "assertives" who were chosen by Observer Evaluation. This analysis looks remarkably similar to the tables in the Results section, Chapter III. Very briefly, there was more tension in white assertive than black assertive groups; black assertives were liked better than white assertives by both black and white subjects; whites found black assertive groups more enjoyable to participate in than white assertive groups. Black assertives did not receive more negative behavior than white assertives; (these were even smaller differences than in the major analysis); black assertives were evaluated higher than white assertives; and although the Observer's Evaluation indicates that black assertives were less purely task-oriented than white assertives, the differences in the mean percentage of socio-emotional acts between black and white assertives were small.

The investigator did not use the above analysis in Chapter III because the number of cases was too small to analyze the data by condition. If the results had differed substantially from those included in Chapter III, the investigator would have been obliged to forego a "by condition" analysis in the interests of greater precision of measurement. The more conservative definition of "assertives," however, did not alter the results.

Problems also exist with identifying and measuring "socio-emotional" behavior. Although R. F. Bales has defined and described six areas of socio-emotional behavior, the investigator did not find that all of these were applicable to the groups which were observed. (Bales, Interaction Processes Analysis) The four categories of socio-emotional behavior in this study were adapted from Bales, but the description of this behavior was restricted to verbal and non-verbal acts common to the specific task of the study. The description of socio-emotional behavior in this study is useful to those who plan to use a similar task and a similar age range of subjects in their experiment.

The investigator watched several tapes of games in the previous study and discussed with two Observers any behaviors which were not clearly task or socio-emotional. One of the Observers was black; she pointed out some behaviors of the black subjects which were missed by the investigator and the other Observer. After many sessions of preliminary viewing, the Observers' Manual was written and the Observers trained. (See Appendix H, Oberservers' Manual 2) The investigator and staff believed that the socio-emotional categories encompassed most of the behavior in the group which was not purely "task-oriented".

There is no way to document possible inadequacies in the socio-emotional measure, but there is another way to compare the behavior of black and white assertives. Since reliability was obtained on task "type act," the pattern of type act of black and white assertives could be investigated. If the patterns were very dissimilar for the black and white assertives, it would indicate that there were indeed differences in behavior and perhaps the socio-emotional measure was not sensitive enough to measure them. Specifically, if black assertives gave more action opportunities, positive evaluations and negative evaluations than white assertives, and fewer performance outputs than white assertives, it would suggest that white assertives were more "task-oriented" than black assertives. Here it is assumed that performance outputs, (giving suggestions on which way to go on the game board) is a purely "task-oriented" category. Action opportunities, positive and negative evaluation may have some socio-emotional content because many of the acts in these categories were also scored in socio-emotional categories.

TABLE 30

Proportion of Task Type Acts of Assertives:
By Race of Assertives

Race of Assertive	Type Task Act			
	Performance Output	Action Opportunity	Positive Evaluation	Negative Evaluation
Black (n=24)	48.9	17.4	21.3	13.5
White (n=33)	42.4	22.1	23.5	10.6

Note.--Proportions based on the number of acts a subject initiated in each category divided by the total number of task acts the subject initiated.

Black assertives actually initiated a higher percentage of performance outputs than white assertives and fewer positive evaluations and action opportunities. Clearly, this analysis of the data does not indicate that black assertives behaved in a less "task-oriented" manner than white assertives. In fact, it suggests just the opposite.

Despite the evidence to the contrary, many staff members who watched several of the video-tapes commented that the black assertives displayed more socio-emotional behavior than white assertives. The consensus of clinical impressions of the staff was that black assertives more often displayed a role combination of socio-emotional and task leadership than the white assertives. The white assertives were seen as being almost exclusively "task-oriented."

Effect of Expectation Training on Results

Imbalance may not be an adequate explanation for the tables combining the results in all conditions. As mentioned before, white assertives may have been perceived as imbalanced units in the conditions where all subjects' expectations were treated. If both black and white assertives are imbalanced in these conditions, there is no theoretical basis for any of the hypotheses. The study's use of Balance Theory may be appropriate to explain the results in the Condition where only black subjects' expectations were treated, but it may not be useful in explaining the results in the other Conditions. What is needed is a theoretical framework which would generate predictions and explanations for results in all the Conditions.

Such a formulation has recently been provided by Lee Freese and Bernard Cohen. (Freese and Cohen, 1971) They introduce a new concept, "General Performance Characteristic." It is defined as a "set" of "two or more directly, symmetrically related performance characteristics." This "set" of at least two specific performance characteristics is "balanced." That is, ". . . all members of the set have the same evaluation, either positive or negative." "Symmetrically related" means that, ". . . possession of any one member of the set implies the expected possession . . . of all other members of the set."

This concept of "General Performance Characteristic" describes the two related "specific performance characteristics" that were assigned to the black subjects during Expectation Training. They were assigned a "high state" of building the radio and a "high state" of teaching someone else how to build the radio. The positive assignment on both these characteristics constitutes a "balanced set." Their ability to build the radio implies that they could successfully teach someone how to put the radio together. Conversely, the ability to teach someone how to build the radio implies knowledge of how to put the radio together. The set of these two characteristics is therefore both "balanced" and "symmetrically related."

In this study, black subjects in the two Conditions where both black and white expectations were treated, have a negative state of the Diffuse State Characteristic and a positive state of the General Performance Characteristic. To be useful to the study, the new theoretical framework must be able to predict which of these two characteristics, the Diffuse Status Characteristic or the General Performance Characteristic will determine expectations and the power and prestige order on the new task. The theorists predict that expectations for performance on the new task will be based on the General Performance Characteristic not the Diffuse Status Characteristic, when the two are differentially evaluated. The basis of this prediction is that the task characteristic is similar to the General Performance Characteristic, but not to the Diffuse Status Characteristic.

The Diffuse Status Characteristic is not symmetrical. There are many specific cultural expectations associated with being black, such as being musical and athletic. The difference between these expectations and those associated with the General Performance Characteristic, is that they do not necessarily imply each other. For example, if a given black person is thought to be musical, it does not necessarily follow that he will be thought to be athletic. The General Performance Characteristic is composed of symmetrically related characteristics and is defined by the theorists as being "potentially" symmetrically relevant to the performance characteristic on the new task. This performance characteristic can be symmetrically relevant to the General Performance Characteristic, but not to the Diffuse Status Characteristic, because the Diffuse Status Characteristic is not symmetrical within itself. Hence expectations for performance on the General Performance Characteristic, but not the Diffuse Status Characteristic are postulated to generalize, or become relevant to the new task.

Hypotheses generated from this theoretical framework would predict that expectations for black subjects' performance on the new task will be higher in the conditions where both races are treated and blacks are seen as possessing a positive state of the General Performance Characteristic by all members, than in the Black Expectation Condition, where blacks are perceived as possessing only a negative state of the Diffuse Status Characteristic, by white subjects. It would also predict that expectations for blacks will be higher than for whites in the conditions where black and white expectations are treated, because white subjects do not possess a positive state of the General Performance Characteristic.

In the condition where only black expectations are treated, blacks knew that white expectations were not treated. Expectations for black behavior will, on the whole be influenced by the Diffuse Status Characteristic, and will thus be lower than expectations for white behavior. These differences in expectations should be reflected in the behavior and attitudes of group members to the assertive.

The investigator will examine, post hoc, the fit of the data, broken by condition, to a set of predictions generated by this theoretical framework. She will compare the utility of this model as an interpretive device, with the fit of the Balance model tested in the main body of the study.

1. Release of Tension: Since expectations for black subjects are higher in the Conditions where expectations of both black and white subjects were treated than in the Condition where only black subjects' expectations were treated. there should be more tension in black assertive groups in the Black Expectation Condition than in the Black and White Expectation Condition. Using the General Performance Characteristic model, analysis of the data by condition should show these relationships:

Prediction: There should be fewer "Release of Tension" acts in the Black and White Expectations Conditions than in the Black Expectation Condition, in groups where blacks are assertive.

Results: Table 20 in the previous chapter shows the predicted direction of the difference.

Prediction: There should be more RT acts in the Black and White Expectation Condition in white assertive groups than in black assertive groups, and fewer RT acts in white assertive groups than in black assertive groups in the all Black Expectation Condition.

Results: Table 20 in the previous chapter shows the predicted direction of the difference.

3. Degree of Affect: Since black subjects are expected to do well in the game, there is no reason to assume that black assertives will not be well liked in the Conditions where both black and white expectations are treated.

Prediction: Black subjects will be liked better in the Black and White Expectations Conditions, than in the all Black Expectation Condition.

Results: The prediction is upheld for black raters (see Table 21), but not for white raters, (see Table 22).

Prediction: White assertives will be better liked than black assertives in the all Black Expectation Condition, and less liked than black assertives in the Black and White Expectations Conditions.

Results: The prediction is upheld for black raters, (see Table 21), but not for white raters, (see Table 22).

3. Degree of Enjoyment: The high expectations for black assertives in the Black and White Expectations Conditions should facilitate enjoyment of games in which blacks become assertive.

Prediction: Subjects in black assertive groups will report that they enjoyed participating in the game "a lot," more in the Black and White Expectations Condition, than in the all Black Expectations Condition.

Results: The prediction is upheld by the results for both black and white raters. (Tables 23 and 24).

Prediction: More subjects in white assertive groups in the all Black Expectations Condition will report that they enjoyed the game "a lot," than subjects in black assertive groups in the same Condition. More subjects in black assertive groups in the Black and White Expectations Conditions will report that they enjoyed participating in the game "a lot," than subjects in white assertive groups in these same Conditions.

Results: The prediction is upheld for white raters, (see Table 24), but not for black raters, (see Table 23).

4. Amount of Negative Behavior: Since white subjects expect blacks to be competent in the Black and White Expectations Condition, they should not be distressed to participate in groups where a black is assertive. They should, therefore, feel less of a need to "unseat" the assertive by directing negative behavior toward him.

Prediction: Black assertives will receive more negative behavior in the all Black Expectation Condition, than in the Conditions where both black and white expectations have been treated.

Results: The results are the reverse of the prediction, (see Table 25).

Prediction: Black assertives will receive more negative behavior than white assertives in the all Black Expectation Condition, but less negative behavior than white assertives in the Black and White Expectations Condition.

Results: The prediction is upheld in the Black Expectation Condition but not in the Black and White Expectations Conditions, (see Table 25).

5. Evaluation: Because expectations influence evaluations, Black assertives should be evaluated higher in the Black and White Expectations Conditions than in the all Black Expectations Condition, and higher than white assertives in the Black and White Expectations Conditions.

Prediction: Evaluations for black assertives will be higher in the Black and White Expectations Conditions, than in the all Black Expectations Condition.

Results: The results are the reverse of the prediction, but the differences are small, (see Tables 26 and 27).

Prediction: Black assertives will be evaluated lower than white assertives in the Black Expectations Condition, but higher than white assertives in the Black and White Expectations Condition.

Results: The prediction is upheld in the Conditions where black and white expectations were treated, but not in the Condition where only black expectations are treated. (see Tables 26 and 27).

6. Socio-Emotional Behavior: The group situation of the black assertives is predicted by the above to be more supportive in the Conditions where both black and white expectations have been treated than in the Black Expectation Condition. Therefore, black assertives should have less need to display socio-emotional behavior in the Black and White Expectations Conditions than in the all Black Expectations Condition.

Prediction: Of all acts given out by the black assertives, there will be a larger proportion of socio-emotional acts in the all Black Expectations Condition, than in the Black and White Expectations Conditions.

Results: The results uphold the prediction, but the differences are small, (see Table 29).

Prediction: Of all acts given out by assertives, black assertives will initiate a higher proportion of socio-emotional acts than white assertives in the all Black Expectations Condition, but a lower proportion than white assertives in the Black and White Expectations Condition.

Results: The prediction is upheld, in the Black Expectation Condition, but not in the Black and White Expectation Condition; the differences are small, (see Table 29).

The following table summarizes the accuracy of the predictions which would have been generated by the theoretical framework devised by Freese and Cohen.

Even though there is by no means a perfect fit of the data to the General Performance Characteristic model, the variety of predictions which are upheld by the data indicate that this model has a much stronger potential as an explanation of what was found in the treatment groups than the Balance Model yielded for all subjects across conditions. One would expect that the General Performance Characteristic model would have even greater power for predicting the results, if the scope conditions of that theory had been followed in this study.

TABLE 31

Fit of General Performance Characteristic Model as an Interpretation of Differences by Condition

Degree Upheld*	Predictions**					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not Upheld						
Partially Upheld		X	X	X	X	X
Completely Upheld	X					

*A prediction was classified "upheld" if the direction of the differences was consistently as predicted for various comparisons implied by the prediction.

**See text for meaning of numbers.

That is, if whites were assigned a low evaluation on the General Performance Characteristic as well as blacks being assigned a high evaluation on that characteristic, the predictions generated by the theory should have a greater likelihood of being upheld.

This analysis comparing the Conditions where Expectation Training took place for all subjects with the Condition in which Expectation Training was confined to black subjects only, reveals that Expectation Training of all subjects was a powerful technique for changing expectations. The question to be answered in this section, however, is, "Does the effect of Expectation Training of all subjects alone, adequately explain why the Hypotheses were not upheld?" In other words, if the Hypotheses were consistently upheld in the Black Expectation Condition, but not in the Black and White Expectations Condition; the effect of Expectation Training might be a sufficient interpretation for the results. This is not the case.

A closer examination of the magnitude of differences between black and white assertives, even when the Hypotheses were upheld in the Black Expectation Condition, reveals very small differences between the percentage scores. The mean percentage of "Release of Tension" acts of groups in which blacks were assertive in the Black Expectation Condition was 24.3. The percentage for groups in which whites were assertive in the same condition was 22.4. (Table 20) Although whites directed more negative acts toward black assertives than toward white assertives in the Black Expectation Condition, the difference in mean percentage is only 4.2 (23.7 - 19.5). (Table 25) Black assertives had a higher percentage of socio-emotional acts in the Black Expectation Condition than white assertives but the difference in mean percentage was only 3.6 (44.5 - 40.9). (Table 29)

Inadequacies of the Expectation Training interpretation of the results appear in analyzing the ratings of the assertive by their team members. A most interesting finding is that white subjects in black assertive groups like the assertive more in every condition than do white subjects in groups where a white is assertive. (Table 22) A higher percentage of white subjects in black assertive groups, than white subjects in white assertive groups, chose the assertive as the "overall leader" in the group in every condition. (Table 27) Black subjects in black assertive groups also rated the assertive as leader more often than black subjects in white assertive groups in every condition. (Table 26) When black and white subjects' ratings are combined, and the self-rating of the assertive is deleted, there is higher consensus that the assertive is the leader and had the best ideas in groups where blacks were assertive than in groups where whites were assertive in all Conditions. (Table 28)

The high ratings of black assertives in the Black Expectation Condition cannot be explained by Expectation Training of all subjects. The lack of indices of social threat, i.e., negative behavior, low affect and low evaluation, in the Black Expectation Condition, indicate that Expectation Training of all subjects is not an adequate explanation for the results. The effect of Expectation Training of both blacks and whites does not explain the high affect reported by white subjects toward black assertives in every condition. It also does not explain the high evaluations of competent behavior that black assertives received from white subjects.

The final two sections of this interpretation will consider other explanations to account for the lack of behavior or attitudes which might constitute a "social threat" situation for black assertives.

Task Structure

The purpose of this discussion of the group task is to discourage any unfounded optimism that the results of the study indicate that "social threat" is no longer a problem in black-white relations. There is no basis for assuming that under different conditions, specifically under a different task structure, that the results would remain the same.

The structure of this task was very different from traditional school tasks in at least three respects: (1) The group structure was designed to produce cooperative effort toward a group goal; (2) There was no outside authority evaluating the quality of group members' performance; and (3) There was no penalty for performing poorly, nor reward for performing well. In the traditional classroom, students compete with one another to receive rewards and avoid penalties which are based on the teacher's evaluation of their performance.

A number of studies have examined the effect of task structure on the relationships of group members. One of the first studies in this area was conducted by Morton Deutsch. He examined, "The Effects of Cooperation and Competition Upon Group Process," (Deutsch, 1949). In this study, Deutsch created two task conditions. In one, group members were told that they would be ranked according to the effectiveness with which their group handled a problem. (Individual cooperation) In the other groups, individuals were told that each person in the group would receive a different ranking based on their individual contribution to the group. (Individual competition) Observers noted that members in the "Individual cooperation" groups were significantly more friendly to one another than members in the "Individual competition" groups. More "encouraging and rewarding remarks" and fewer "aggressive remarks" were made in the cooperative than in the competitive groups. Participants in the cooperative groups rated one another's contributions to the group task higher than did the competitive subjects. (Deutsch, p. 479)

A number of studies investigating the effect of cooperative vs. competitive group structure on interrelationships of group members report findings similar to Deutsch's classic study. In a much more recent study, Julian and Perry report that, "Present results clearly imply that cooperation does engender more positive interpersonal relations among group members, replicating many earlier findings in this area." (Julian and Perry, 1967) They also found that members in the "pure cooperative" condition ". . . described their groups as warmer, happier, and more active." (Julian and Perry, p. 87)

The impact of cooperation vs. competition on perceptions of participants toward one another was dramatically demonstrated in a study by Lerner et al. (1967). In this study the independent variables were "anticipated cooperation" and "anticipated competition." The dependent variables were attraction ratings of two subjects under conditions of anticipated competition and anticipated cooperation. They found that those subjects who were told they would be cooperating together on a task (anticipatory cooperation) report higher attraction ratings between one another than those subjects who anticipated that they would participate in a competitive setting. (Taylor, p. 175) It seems as if merely anticipating cooperation is sufficient to produce good feelings between future group members.

Competition was used by the experimenter in the "Robbers Cave Experiment" to stimulate friction and hostility between groups. It proved to be an effective method of developing unfavorable stereotypes and animosity between the members of two groups. In order to reduce the friction and develop pleasant relations between members of the groups, problems were introduced which necessitated the cooperation of the members of both groups to solve them. The experimenters reported that conflict was reduced after the group members participated in cooperative tasks and there was a significant increase of preference for "out group" members. (Sherif et al., 1961)

The research by Katz and Cohen (1962) found that whites expressed negative feelings toward their black partners when those black subjects demonstrated competence on a task. The staff on this project deliberately tried to prevent any conditions which might arouse threat to white subjects as well as to black subjects. They attempted to do this by: (1) designing the Conditions in which expectations of both blacks and whites were treated in such a way that subjects could not form invidious comparisons between their future team members and themselves, and; (2) selecting a cooperative criterion task, "Kill the Bull" and encouraging all members in the group to work together as a "team."

When black subjects taught whites to build the radio, the whites were informed that the black teachers were competent at building the radio and teaching them how to build it because they were trained to build the set and teach someone else how to put it together. White subjects could comfortably assume that they could have done as good a job with the radio as their black teachers, if they had also been previously trained. Telling the truth to white subjects eliminated the basis for forming invidious comparisons between themselves and their black teachers. Had the staff on this project implied that black teachers were competent builders and instructors of the radio because of superior ability instead of superior training, whites may very well have reacted in a hostile and unfriendly manner.

It is impossible to determine the extent to which the cooperative nature of the task in the study and the lack of invidious comparisons of Expectation Training prevented conditions of "social threat" from developing. One could speculate that a competitive division of the team members between the black and white subjects during Expectation Training on the game would have produced a lot of animosity and hostility between the members of the two races. This structure would be analogous to the "Robbers Cave Experiment" of inter-group competition. Based on other studies mentioned above, even an individually competitive task structure would have decreased the level of positive affect and evaluations and probably increased the amount of negative behavior.

It would be interesting to conduct a study designed to measure the effect of task structure on interracial relations in a small group. The findings of many studies permit a high degree of confidence in asserting that members engaging in cooperative tasks have friendlier relations with one another than members working on competitive tasks. A further study might examine if this relationship between task structure and interpersonal relations is stronger or weaker when a group contains members who differ on a diffuse status characteristic.

Changing Attitude Toward Black Americans

The cooperative task structure helps to explain why there was little hostility displayed in these groups and positive ratings of both black and white assertives. It does not explain, however, why white subjects reported higher evaluations and more affect toward black assertives than toward white assertives. The following discussion examines the possibility that changes in the attitudes of white Americans toward the black minority affected the responses of white subjects to the questions in the Post Meeting Interview.

There is little doubt that children are aware of racial attitudes of the society at a very young age. A number of studies have found that white pre-schoolers perceive the "Negro" as inferior and ascribe low status roles to him. (See Mary Ellen Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children, Kenneth B. Clark, Prejudice and Your Child, and Marion Radke and Helen Trager, "Children's Perceptions of the Social Roles of Negroes and Whites," Journal of Psychology, V. 29, 1950, pp. 3-33) Kenneth Clark points out that, ". . . children's attitudes toward Negroes are determined chiefly not by contacts with Negroes, but by contacts with the prevailing attitude toward Negroes." (Kenneth Clark, Prejudice and Your Child, p. 25)

Since children's attitudes accurately reflected the larger society's attitudes toward minority groups, it would not be surprising if children's attitudes also reflected the changes in these societal attitudes.

It is difficult to determine the range of beliefs now prevalent in the white community. The former consensus of perceiving blacks as inferior but benign people has been shattered. The white attitude today could be more accurately described as an ambivalence between guilt and fear. Whites have been told by black and white spokesmen that the suffering of black citizens is to some extent their fault, or at least the fault of the society which benefits white people. At the same time, they have seen the riots that the suffering has produced. Translated into behavior in inter racial settings, whites may behave as if they feel that they have an obligation to make up for past wrongs, or avoid negative behavior for fear they may elicit violent responses from blacks. Whichever the reason, whites may feel more of a stake in contributing to amicable relations between the races today, than they did ten years ago.

An enhanced desire to establish better relations might encourage whites to look at the positive aspects of black people with whom they interact. If more whites want to like and respect blacks, they will find more reasons to like and respect them. The investigator is suggesting that this changing attitude of some segments of the white community may have affected white subjects' ratings of black assertives in this study. If the white subjects were predisposed to like their black teammates and to respect them, they found that they actually did like them and did see them as competent.

This could be an overly optimistic interpretation of the white subjects' reported attitudes. It may be that the white subjects were reflecting the more superficial attitude of society that it is no longer fashionable to admit or display prejudice. Regardless of how one actually feels toward a minority group member, it is wise to pretend to be open-minded and enlightened. The subjects in this study could demonstrate the "liberal line" by reporting that they liked their black partners a lot and by evaluating them as competent teammates. The responses to the interview may have been normative responses, viewed by the whites as one method to display a lack of prejudice. Abraham Citron points out in his excellent article, "The Rightness of Whiteness," "Since middle class white culture also requires gentility, politeness, restraint, and dissimulation, basic emotions about Negroes threatening to the self-image or to acceptance in the eyes of others are often repressed." (Citron, p. 12)

It is shortsighted, however, to dismiss paying "lip-service" to the ideals of equality or brotherhood as insignificant. When the derogatory epithets hurled at other minority groups became a sign of bad manners, a first step was taken in eliminating prejudice. The fact that white subjects reported that they liked and respected the black assertive indicates that they are at least outwardly open to the possibility of forming friendships with their black peers.

There is no way to determine the extent to which white subjects actually felt the affect and respect toward black assertives which they reported. It is quite clear, however, that this age group has been exposed to many more positive models of black people through the mass media than previous generations. These children have seen black actors playing very middle class and even glamorous roles in the movies and on television. They certainly have more basis for forming positive attitudes toward blacks than children in previous generations brought up on "Step 'n Fetchit."

The mass media has also reported the growth of black pride and black power in this country, albeit, not always favorably. Whatever else a child might perceive from watching Stockley Carmichael on television, it is doubtful that he sees an obsequious "boy" who expects to be dominated by white people.

It is unfortunate that there is no measure of previous interracial contact of these subjects. Those subjects who live in integrated neighborhoods and/or attend integrated schools have no doubt encountered black peers who behave in a competent and self-confident manner. If these white subjects have formed friendships with their black peers, it is not surprising that they would rate black assertives high on competence and report high feelings of affect toward their black team member. Having had previous experience with competent black youngsters, the white subjects may not see the black assertive as unusual or threatening.

There are many avenues through which the subjects in this study may have been exposed to changing attitudes in race relations. Whether their exposure came through parents, teachers, the mass media or members of the other race, it is clear that white youngsters today have more opportunity to perceive black people as equals than did previous generations.

Chapter V

IMPLICATIONS

There are five areas of the study generating implications: the limitations of the theoretical framework; the problems of measuring assertive and socio-emotional behavior; the effect of the task structure on the relationship of group members; the favorable ratings given to black assertives by white team members; and, the possibility of stylistic differences between black and white assertives. The methodological implications of the study are suggested in the first two sections of Chapter IV. The difficulties of using Balance Theory for this study imply that a more appropriate theoretical framework is needed for research concerned with the low-status assertive. The problems encountered in defining and measuring both "assertive" behavior and "socio-emotional" behavior suggest that further research is necessary to clarify these concepts.

Limitations of the Theoretical Framework

There is no doubt that Balance Theory is less than a perfect theoretical framework for a study of this kind.

Unfortunately, there has been very little written on the low-status assertive or leader in small groups. The paucity of literature in this area forces the researcher to experiment in selecting or developing an appropriate theoretical framework.

The section on the effects of Expectation Training of both black and white subjects in Chapter IV, implies that tho theoretical framework of the General Performance Characteristic, formulated by Freese and Cohen, would have been more appropriate for this study than Balance Theory. The General Performance Characteristic model may have had greater predictive power of the results if the scope conditions of the theory had been met.

The authors of the General Performance Characteristic model state that subjects possessing different states of a diffuse status characteristic should both be assigned opposite states of the General Performance Characteristic. For example, black subjects should be assigned a high state on the two or more related specific performance characteristics that compose the General Performance Characteristic, and white subjects should be assigned a low state of the General Performance Characteristic. In this study, blacks were assigned a high state of the Ceneral Performance Characteristic, but whites were not assigned any state of the General

Performance Characteristic. They were deliberately not assigned a low state of the General Performance Characteristic for fear that such an assignment would produce resentment and hostility among white subjects.

A further study to test the utility of the General Performance Characteristic model might select subjects possessing differently evaluated states of a less sensitive diffuse status characteristic than race, and assign all of them opposite states of the General Performance Characteristic.

Problem of Measurement

The identification of "assertive," "influential," or "leadership" behavior in small, "task-oriented," face-to-face groups, which are initially leaderless, is a serious methodological problem. The literature is full of studies which define these concepts in very different ways. Before sociologists can be assured that they are identifying the same behavior by these concepts, several questions must be answered. Is the "top man" merely the one who talks the most? Is he the group member who gets his way? If it is a combination of both initiation and influence, does the amount of resistance he faces affect his behavior? Which is a better indicator of assertiveness . . . subject's evaluations of contributions to the task, or observer's evaluations? Are the "quality" of ideas more important than the "quantity" of ideas for identifying the "top man"? In which situations is guidance more predictive of leadership than best ideas? These are only a few questions which need to be investigated by further research. Sociologists cannot build upon past research or learn from other studies if the concepts they use are poorly defined or so limited as to be applicable to only one situation.

The staff's clinical impressions of the assertives' behavior contradict the evidence based on observation within the socio-emotional categories. The staff believes that black assertives did behave in a more socio-emotional manner than white assertives, but there was very little difference in scores for black and white assertives using the socio-emotional scoring system. As suggested in Chapter IV, the measurement of socio-emotional behavior in the study may have limitations.

Socio-emotional behavior is difficult to measure because it involves the tone of voice and facial expression as well as the content of an act. In fact, one could argue that tone of voice and nuances of language are factors of socio-emotional behavior as important as the content of the remark. For example, there seems to be a difference in sheer amount of socio-emotional content in these statements, "You're right, John." and "Right on brother, kill that bull!"

Both remarks, however, would be scored as one "Raising Status" act in this study.

In order to capture the emotional tone as well as content in small group interaction, observers might be trained to give overall impressions of the atmosphere or "feeling" manifested in the group. Burke, in his article, "The Development of Task and Socio-Emotional Role Differentiation," reports that the participants in a group rated the group members on the following criteria:

1. Joking and kidding, finding the potentially humorous implications in the discussion.
2. Doing most to keep relationships between members cordial and friendly.
3. Most liked.
4. Standing out as the leader in the discussion.
5. Making tactful comments to heal any hurt feelings which might arise in the discussion. (Burke, pp. 370-392)

If observers could be trained to rate groups in a similar way, and if reliability could be obtained on these measures, a clearer picture of the emotional tone as well as content in the group would be obtained. A suggestion for further research is to employ both methods of scoring socio-emotional interaction; the quantifying method used primarily in this study and the less structured, judgmental or qualitative method, to see if the two measures do reveal different pictures of group interaction.

The Effect of the Task Structure

This study was concerned with the feelings and perceptions of black and white subjects toward one another because of the possibility that unfavorable reactions of white group members to their black teammates may force the black subjects to behave in a less "task-oriented" manner. If there is any validity to the line of reasoning which suggests that a "social threat" situation would impair black students' academic performance, classroom teachers should be concerned with any techniques to maximize positive feelings between black and white children.

Cooperative tasks, preventing invidious comparisons, have been revealed as one technique producing friendly relations between participants. Yet, the traditional classroom structure encourages competition between students and even when "group work" does exist, individuals within the group are rewarded or penalized, rather than the group as a whole. It is not within the scope of this study to examine the values underlying competitive and cooperative structures, although they should be examined by every teacher before she imposes either of the two task structures in her classroom. This discussion simply suggests cooperative tasks in situations where impersonal relations are important. To those teachers in integrated classrooms it is offered as a method for minimizing the possibility of social threat to black students.

This is not a new suggestion. Over twenty years ago, Deutsch concluded his study on cooperation and competition with the statement that, "Educators might well re-examine the assumptions underlying their common usage of a competitive grading system." He added that, "One may well question whether a competitive grading system produces the kinds of interrelationships among students, the task-directedness, and personal security that are in keeping with sound educational objectives." (Deutsch, p. 482) Today, very few educators have begun to question the competitive structure in American classrooms. It is hoped that the urgency of desegregation will encourage questioning many of the practices prevalent in the school system and that the competitive structure of the classroom will be among them.

White Rating of Black Assertives

High evaluations and affect given to black assertives by white teammates may be a product of the changing attitude of white Americans toward black Americans. To investigate if the changing attitudes in the white community were actually reflected by white subjects, similar studies could be conducted in several communities representing different attitudes toward the black minority. It would be interesting to find if white boys in Jackson, Mississippi, rate their black partners as well liked and as competent as did the white subjects living in the San Francisco Peninsula.

If white subjects' ratings can be partially explained as a reflection of changing attitudes in the society, it is a hopeful sign for the society and for the future of desegregated education. In terms of this study, white subjects' attitudes toward their black partners imply that a "social threat" situation for black students is less likely today than it was eight years ago when Katz and Cohen conducted their study.

Educators must learn to translate these changing attitudes toward black Americans into behavioral norms in the classroom. If white students believe in the abstract ideal of equality, they can be more easily taught to demonstrate respect and friendship for their black classmates than if they enter the classroom convinced that the black students are inferior. The changing attitudes of many white American families can be utilized to produce integrated schools composed of students who benefit from one another as well as from the instructor.

Stylistic Differences of Black and White Assertives

The possibility of stylistic differences between black and white assertives is suggested by the staff's clinical impressions. The idea that blacks behave in a less "task-oriented" and more socio-emotional way than white students is an intriguing one for the practitioner. The assertive blacks in this study remind this investigator of the popular, black "class clowns" in her integrated classrooms in East Oakland, California. In their bid for popularity, they camouflaged their intelligence, ignored class work, and continually disrupted the class with jokes and chatting.

The investigator is interested in conducting a series of studies exploring teacher reactions to this kind of student and developing techniques with teachers for helping these students improve their academic performance. She has dubbed several video tapes from this study displaying white assertives behaving in a "task-oriented" manner and black assertives behaving in a "socio-emotional" way. In a preliminary study, these tapes have been shown to teachers, student teachers and teacher aides of elementary school youngsters in integrated areas. The reaction of these educators was very interesting. When asked to give a few impressions of the "task-oriented" white leader, they described him as, "a good student," "self-confident," "knowledgeable about the task," and "serious." In contrast, their impressions of the black socio-emotional leader ranged from "funny and a clown" to "gets along well with his peers." Almost all of their reactions to the white assertive were concerned with the white assertive's mastery of the task. Their remarks about the black assertive concerned his relations with his teammates.

The teachers, student teachers and teacher aides were also asked to choose either the black or white assertive as the one who was: (1) the most effective leader; (2) the best liked by other group members; and (3) the potential source of greater discipline problems. The white assertive was chosen slightly more often than the black as "best leader" but much less often as "best liked." Twice as many of the educators thought the black assertive would be a greater source of discipline problems in the classroom than the white assertive. In a discussion period that followed, the educators discussed how they would handle a student who behaved like the black assertive. Opinions ranged from "I'd shake him" to "I'd try to make him my ally and not destroy his leadership ability."

The investigator hopes to meet with more groups of teachers, teacher aides and student teachers, to conduct similar sessions. If the kind of socio-emotional behavior demonstrated by some of the black assertives is a behavioral style common to many black children, teachers should be aware of their reactions to these students and have the opportunity to discuss methods to help these children succeed in the classroom.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study analyzes data collected in the summer of 1970. Fifty-seven groups, composed of two white and two black junior high school boys, were filmed as they participated in a cooperative task. Observers scored task-related interaction and socio-emotional behavior from video tapes of each group. Subjects' attitudes and perceptions of one another and the task were obtained from interviews with subjects.

There were three Conditions in the experiment treating expectations for black group members by means of producing competent behavior of black subjects on an intervening task. In one Condition, only black subjects' expectations for themselves were treated, (Black-Expectation Condition). In the other two Conditions, expectations of both black and white subjects for black group members were treated, (Black and White Expectation Conditions). In one of the Black and White Expectation Conditions, relevance between the intervening and criterion task was established for black subjects.

This study focused on the assertive member in each group to investigate if the race of the assertive affected group members' reactions toward him and his behavior in the group. Based on the theoretical framework of Status Characteristic Theory and Balance Theory, the investigator predicted that black assertives would not be as well liked nor as highly evaluated as white assertives. She also predicted that white subjects would direct more negative behavior toward black assertives than toward white assertives and that groups in which blacks were assertive would contain more tension and be less enjoyable for participants than groups in which whites were assertive. Because of these predicted differences in the group situation of black and white assertives, the investigator predicted that black assertives would initiate a larger proportion of socio-emotional acts than white assertives.

Previous research found that whites do express hostility toward blacks in small group situations. Irwin Katz postulates white hostility or unfriendliness as a "social treat component" for black children. He suggests that the anxiety and isolation produced in a social threat situation might impair the academic performance of black students. This study wanted to discover if black assertives in the small groups were subjected to a "social threat" situation by their white teammates and if they reacted by behaving in a less "task-oriented" more "socio-emotional" manner than white assertives. If the hypotheses in the study were confirmed, school personnel should be alerted to the possibility of white hostility in integrated schools and its behavioral consequences for black students.

The hypotheses, however, were not confirmed by the results. Black assertives were not subjected to a social threat component by their white teammates and they did not behave in a more socio-emotional manner than white assertives. White members of groups in which blacks were assertive reported that they liked the assertive the most in their group and highly evaluated his contribution to the task, more often than white subjects in groups where a white was assertive. White subjects did not direct significantly more negative behavior to black than to white assertives. There were more "Release of Tension" acts and lower enjoyment was reported in white assertive groups than in black assertive groups.

The data were analyzed again, using a different theoretical framework, to determine if the hypotheses were upheld in the Black Expectation Condition, but not upheld in the Conditions where expectations of both black and white subjects were treated. Predictions from an alternative framework were more accurate for the condition where treatment did not alter expectations effectively (Black Expectation Condition) than they were for the more successful treatment conditions. However, the predictions were not consistently successful even in the Black Expectation Condition.

Two other explanations for the results were considered. One reviewed research on task-structure which found that co-operative tasks produce more amicable relations and positive attitudes between participants than competitive tasks. The other explanation discussed the possibility that changing attitudes of white Americans toward black Americans may have been reflected by white subjects in these small groups. The investigator also examined the methodological problems of the study to determine if they affected the results. It is clear that alternative theoretical formulations are needed to study the area of the low-status leader or assertive. There is also a need for more precise theoretical and operational definitions of the concepts "assertive" and "socio-emotional" behavior.

The study suggests that more cooperative tasks should be used in situations where interpersonal relations are important. In integrated classrooms, a curriculum including cooperative tasks might increase the possibility of inter-racial harmony. The study also implies that educators may

may be able to produce integrated situations attractive to both blacks and whites by capitalizing on the rapidly changing, more positive attitudes of white Americans toward black Americans. The clinical observations of strong socio-emotional behavior among some black assertives suggests the need for a project which works with teachers to help them examine their reactions to black children who behave in a socio-emotional manner and to develop methods of helping these children succeed in school.

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APPENDICES

Appendix

A Recruitment Questionnaire
B Rules for Scoring Recruitment Questionnaire
C Diagram of Radio
D Description of Materials for Radio
E Radio Interview
F Diagram of Game
G Observers' Manual 1
H Observers' Manual 2
I Observers' Evaluations
J Post-Meeting Interview

Appendix A

Cohen National Science Foundation Project
School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California 94305

May, 1970

Dear Student:

During the months of July and August, a research team from the School of Education at Stanford University will spend a few days in your community studying new ways of teaching and learning. We will need young men in grades 6 through 9 to assist us.

Each student who is chosen to participate will work no more than three hours, and will be paid $1.50 per hour.

If you would like to spend up to three hours of your summer vacation assisting us in this important work, take this letter and the attached form home. Get your parents to fill out the questions we wrote for them. Be sure to answer all the questions.

Then mail the questionnaire to us immediately in the envelope we have given you. No postage is needed.

You will have fun as you earn and learn, assisting us with this project. We will call you this summer when we are working in your area.

Sincerely yours,

Ulysses V. Spiva
Project Administrator

UVS:sab

COHEN NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION PROJECT
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

- QUESTIONNAIRE -

THIS QUESTION SHEET HAS TWO SECTIONS. YOU FILL OUT THE FIRST SECTION AND YOUR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS FILL OUT THE SECOND SECTION. BE SURE TO ANSWER EVERY QUESTION.

SECTION I - ABOUT THE STUDENT

Your name:....................Age:........Race:..........
First Last

Your home address:......................................
Number and street Town

Phone number:......................

Your school:..........................Your grade:........

How tall are you? (If you are not sure, guess)...... .....
Feet Inches

How many brothers and sisters live with you? (Count in half-brothers and half-sisters or foster ones.)
....

How many adults live with you?...............

Have you ever built a:	(circle one)
crystal radio set	yes no
transistor radio set	yes no

How boys your age feel about school

1. Do you or don't you care about the grades you get in school? (check one)

___(1)Care a lot
___(2)Care some
___(3)Care a little
___(4)Don't care at all

2. Do you or don't you try hard to get good grades in most of your subjects?

___(1)Don't try at all
___(2)Try a little
___(3)Try pretty hard
___(4)Try very hard
___(5)I get good grades without trying very hard

3. Does it or doesn't it bother you if you don't do well in your school work?

___(1)Bothers me a lot
___(2)Bothers me some
___(3)Bothers me a little
___(4)Doesn't bother me at all

4. Do you think you will graduate from high school?

___(1)Very sure I will
___(2)Pretty sure I will
___(3)Pretty sure I will not
___(4)Very sure I will not

5. Do you think you will go to college?

___(1)Very sure I will
___(2)Pretty sure I will
___(3)Pretty sure I will not
___(4)Very sure I will not

SECTION II

YOUR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS SHOULD FILL OUT THE REST OF THE INFORMATION

TO THE PARENTS: TO COMPLETE OUR SHORT SURVEY. WE NEED SOME INFORMATION ABOUT YOU. KINDLY COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

For the mother (or guardian):

6. How far were you able to go in school?

___(1)Grade 6 or less

___(2)Grade 7,8,9,10 or 11
___(3)Grade 12 (finished high school)
___(4)Went to college but didn't finish
___(5)Finished 4 years of college

7. What is your occupation?.......................................
(Please specify: housewife, nurse, etc.)

For the father (or guardian)

8. How far were you able to go in school?

___(1)Grade 6 or less
___(2)Grade 7,8,9,10 or 11
___(3)Grade 12 (finished high school)
___(4)Went to college but didn't finish
___(5)Finished 4 years of college

9. What is y our occupation?.......................................
(Please specify: gardener, plumber, etc.)

Thank you for your cooperation. Please return this questionnaire to Stanford University with the attached envelope.
No Postage Is Needed.

June, 1970

Expectation Training II

Instructions for Coding Recruitment Questionaire

General: This recruitment questionaire has two purposes:

1. Elimination of all subjects who have ever built crystal radio sets.

2. Coding each subject as High, Medium or Low SES. This rating is based on a combination of parental status and potential upward educational mobility of the son. The aim is to select subjects for a given group who cannot be distinguished from each other on a social class basis by style of speaking or by shabbiness of dress.

Procedure

1. Check first to see if subject has ever built a crystal radio set or a transistor radio set. If either or both these questions are answered with a "YES", subject should be immediately put aside in a special file folder labeled "Unusable Subjects." A thank-you letter should be sent to these.

2. Check parent education and occupation on Pages 2 or 3. If Mother and Father (or Guardian) have 4 years of college or more, and father is employed as higher executive, proprietor, major professional, lesser professional, business manager, proprietor of medium-sized business, subject is automatically coded HIGH, regardless of responses on other questions. Write HIGH SES on top of front page and encircle it.

   If father is a college professor, lawyer or doctor and subject is white, file with Unusable Subjects.

3. Assigning score on Attitude Toward School. Use answers to Questions 1-3 for assigning High, Medium or Low School scores.

   a. Score the first question "1" if Subject checks "Cares a lot". All other responses should be scored "0".

   b. Score the second question "1" if Subject checks "Try very hard" or "I get good grades without trying very hard". All other responses should be scored "0".

c. Score the third question "1" if Subject checks "Bothers me a lot." All other responses should be scored "0".

d. Then assign a total score in this way: Add the total for the three questions:

Range = 0-3
High = 3
Medium = 2
Low = 1

e. Write High School, Med School, or Low School at the bottom of the first page.

4. Assigning score on Level of Aspiration. Use answers to Question 4 and 5 for assigning High, Medium or Low Level of Aspiration scores.

a. If Subject checks "Pretty sure I will not" or "Very sure I will not" in response to Question 4 on graduating from high school, code him as Low Level of Aspiration.

b. If Subject checks "Very sure I will" on both Questions 4 and 5, code as High Level of Aspiration.

c. All other responses will be coded as Medium Level of Aspiration.

d. Write High LOA, Med LOA or Low LOA beside these questions in large letters.

5. Assigning an Overall Code of HIGH, MEDIUM or LOW SES:

a. Rules for coding subject HIGH SES:

(1) Subject may be called HIGH simply on the basis of a very high status parental education and occupation as described in Step 2 of the procedure.

(2) Subject may also be called HIGH if he is "high" on 3 of the following 4 factors:

(a) High Attitude Toward School
(b) High LOA
(c) High parent education (Father has 4 years of college or more and Mother has some years of college or more.)

(d) Father has any white collar occupation.

(3) If subject is HIGH, put HIGH SES on front of questionaire and encircle.

b. Rules for coding subject LOW SES:

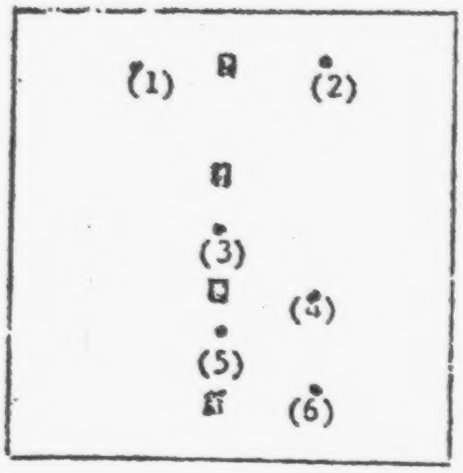
(1) Subject is called LOW if he is "low" on 3 of the following 4 factors:

(a) Low attitude Toward School
(b) Low LOA
(c) Mother or Father has less than a high school education
(d) Father (or Mother if Father is absent) works at unskilled labor or in unemployed.

(2) If subject is LOW, put LOW SES on front of questionaire and encircle.

c. All other cases will be called MIDDLE SES and will be so labeded on front of questionaire.

Appendix C
TWO-TRANSISTOR RADIO SET

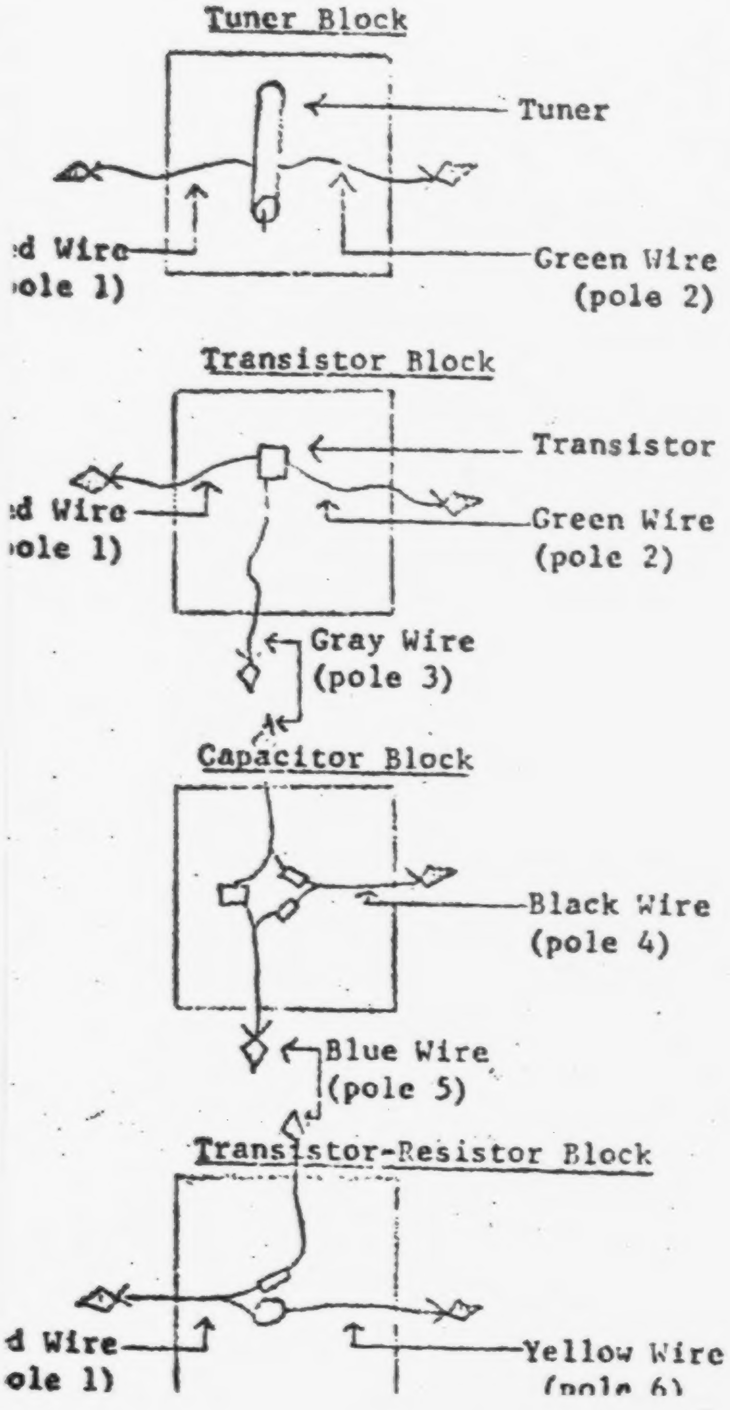


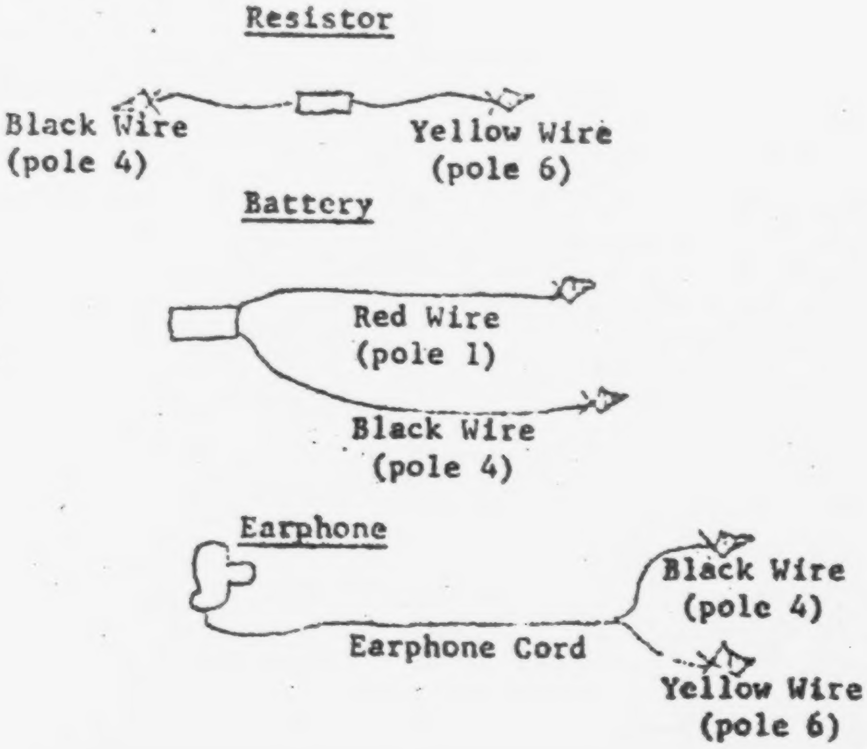
Pad 1: Tuner Block

Pad 2: Transistor Block

Pad 3: Capacitor Block

Pad 4: Transistor-Resistor Block


Tuner Block
Tuner
d Wire
ole 1)
Green Wire
(pole 2)
Transistor Block
Transistor
d Wire
ole 1)
Green Wire
(pole 2)
Gray Wire
(pole 3)
Capacitor Block
Black Wire
(pole 4)
Blue Wire
(pole 5)
Transistor-Resistor Block
d Wire
ole 1)
Yellow Wire
(pole 6)


Resistor
Black Wire
(pole 4)
Yellow Wire
(pole 6)
Battery
Red Wire
(pole 1)
Black Wire
(pole 4)
Earphone
Black Wire
(pole 4)
Earphone Cord
Yellow Wire
(pole 6)

Appendix D

Materials for Radio: 2 sets of the following

1	16" by 16" by 1" board
4	1½" by 1½" velcro patches
6	1/8" machine screws (4" long)-called "poles"
1	battery (9 volt transister)
17	alligator clamps
4	3" by 3" by ½" blocks of wood backed by squares of velcro
1	tuner
2	transisters
4	resisters
1	capaciter
1	earphone with 30" cord
3'	red wire
1'	green wire
1'	grey wire
3'	black wire
1'	blue wire
3'	yellow wire

Materials for Experiment

1	divider (2' by 2' composition board)
1	teaching criteria chart
1	game instruction chart
2	dice
1	cassette tape recorder
1	cassette
1	card table
	chalk
1	tool box (screw driver, nails, hammer, knife, etc.)

Equipment for Recording

1	camera
1	recorder (videotape)
1	monitor
1	microphone + stand
1	tripod
2	lamps + stands
2	extension cords
2	monitor extension cords
1	role modeling film
2	reels of videotape
1	rubbing alcohol (quart)
1	head cleaner (½ pint)
1	cotton swabs (pkg.)
1	take up reel

Appendix E

STUDENT

How important was it for you to learn how to build the radio?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VERY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT UNIMPORTANT	UNIMPORTANT	VERY UNIMPORTANT

How much do you think you needed your teacher's help in building the radio?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Could not have built it without his help	Needed a lot of help	Needed a little help	Could have built the set alone without any help

If you were to compare your knowledge about building the radio to that of your teacher, would you say you knew

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
much more	a little more	a little less	a lot less

TEACHER

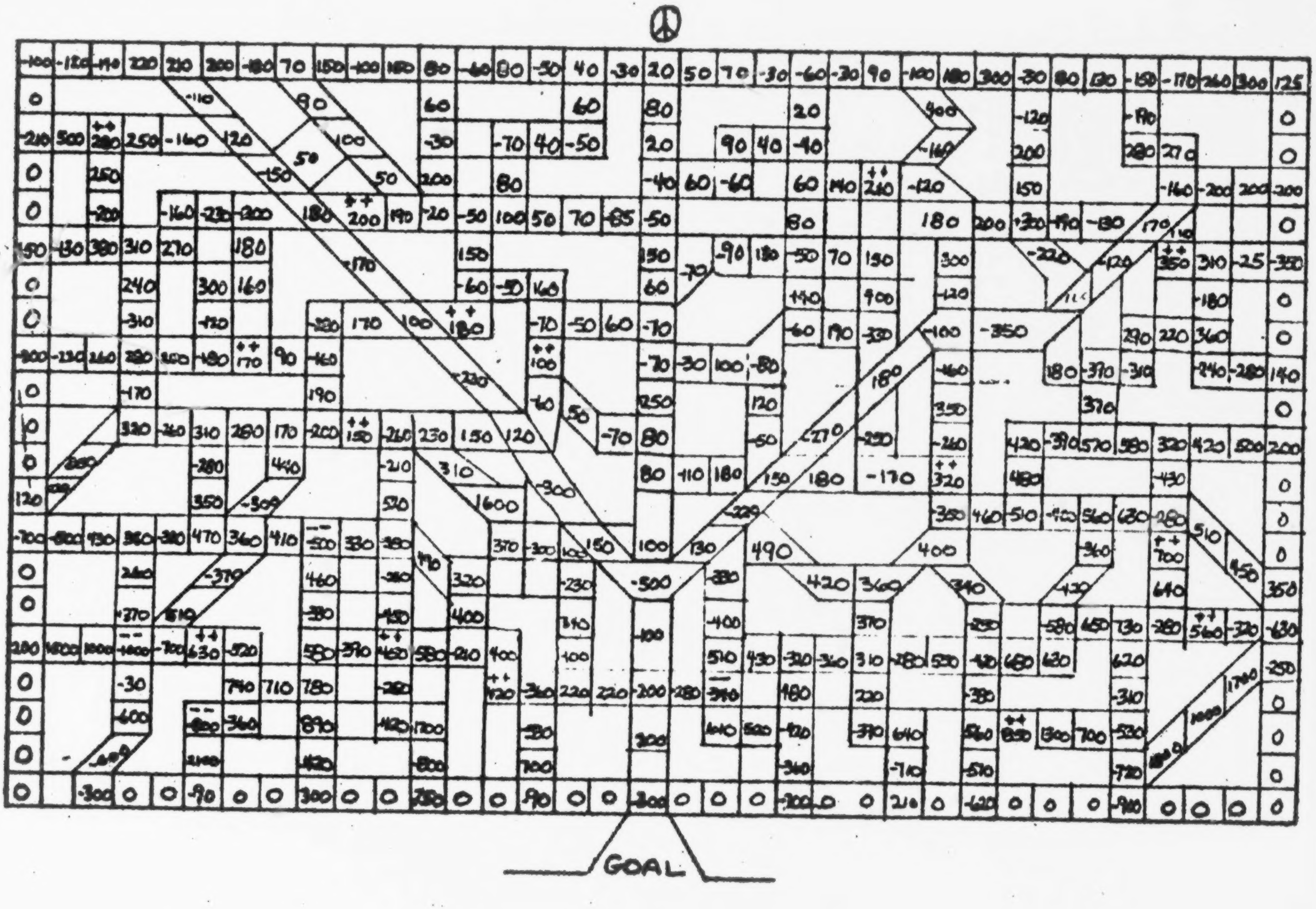
How important was it to you to learn how to build the radio?

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VERY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT UNIMPORTANT	UNIMPORTANT	VERY UNIMPORTANT

If you were to compare your knowledge about building the radio to that of your student, would you say you knew

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Much more	a little more	a little less	a lot less

KILL THE BULL



Appendix G

Manual for Observers I

Introduction

Investigators considering sociological questions such as interpersonal relationships, attitude change, group structure, and leadership, have tested many of their hypotheses with small groups in a controlled laboratory setting. The purpose of this study is to examine the interaction which takes place in a racially mixed task-oriented group. The subjects are 7th and 8th grade Negro and white boys. They are divided into groups of four, and each group is observed playing a game entitled "Kill the Bull."

The data which will be used for testing hypotheses and drawing conclusions will come almost entirely from the work of the observers who will score from pre-recorded tapes the verbal interaction of the subjects as they play the game. It is therefore critical to the success of the research that each observer become completely familiar with the scoring rules and develop the ability to record interaction accurately.

Since the reliability of the human observer as a measuring instrument is subject to wide variation, we have tried to outline a training schedule which will communicate all of the instructions, and which will give the observers a common frame of reference within which to score and to handle problems which we have not anticipated.

Schedule for Training

The task of learning how to score interaction requires concentration and practice. The time spent perfecting your skills as an observer is an important part of your work on the project. The schedule below indicates the steps you should take in preparing. We will go over the first step, the category system and rules for scoring, at the introductory meeting, In addition, there will always be a member of the project team whom you can contact for questions and guidance.

Category System for observing interaction

1. Definition of an act:

The system of anȃlysis we are using is concerned with verbal interaction only. Therefore gestures, incoherent mutterings, and other forms of non-verbal behavior are not considered interaction. EXCEPTION: When a subject shakes his head "yes" or "no" in response to a question from another subject, this gesture will be scored as would the words "yes" or "no". It should be clear that this gesture is scored ONLY when it is a response to a direct question.

An act is the single continuous speech of one individual. A speech is considered continuous, regardless of pauses, so long as it (1) is not interrupted by another individual and (2) it remains in one category of Type of Act (see below). A single word or a single phrase is considered an act only if the word or phrase expresses a complete thought. Thus, "what?", "why?", "yes", and "no" are considered acts, whereas "er," "Mmmmm", and "we. . ." are not.

2. Scoring of an act:

The scoring of an act has three components:
Initiator: the person speaking
Type of Act: classification of the content of the remark
Recipient: the person to whom the remark is addressed

3. Definition of Type Act

Performance Output (p)

A performance output is a unit of interaction that exhibits the attribute of task facilitation, that is, it can be agreed upon that this unit is intended to move the task toward a previously stated end state. Specifically for this game, interaction which accomplishes the following is to be included.

1. An actor indicates an alternative (path) for the group to follow.

2. An actor indicates the costs and rewards of a series of possible paths or of a particular path.

3. An actor indicates an overall strategy intended to facilitate reaching the specified goal.

Action Opportunity (A)

An action opportunity is to be conceived of as a socially distributed chance to perform. That is, when a unit of interaction exhibits the characteristic of requiring the emission of another unit by another actor or actors, it will be scored as an action opportunity.

Positive Unit Evaluation (+)

A positive unit evaluation is conceived of as one which exhibits the property of agreeing with or raising the status of a unit of interaction previously emitted by another actor or actors, or a unit which raises the status of another actor regardless of whether he emitted a unit or not.

Negative Unit Evaluation (-)

A negative unit evaluation is one which disagrees with or attempts to lower the status of a previously emitted unit of interaction, or attempts to lower the status of another actor, regardless of whether he emitted a unit of interaction or not.

4. Rules for scoring ambiguous situations

A. Clarification of Negative Evaluation
In general, an act is scored as a negative evaluation when a person reacts negatively to another actor's suggestions:
   1. points out negative values in someone else's strategy
   2. disapproves of an idea or strategy suggested by another actor
   3. points out negative consequences of another player's suggested path
   4. responds with a "no" to the action opportunity "Do you want to go this way?"

A problem arises when the subjects in a group offer competing suggestions--often a player will effectively disagree with another player's suggestion by offering a competing path, and his suggestion seems therefore to fall into both the p and - categories. The rules for handling this situation will be the following:
   1. When the comparison is stated, the act will be scored as a negative. Ex. "I like the hot line better" or "This path has fewer red minuses"

2. When the comparison is not stated:
   If a player is offering an original suggestion, score his act as a p.
   If a player is repeating a suggestion made earlier, score it as a - (he is in effect selecting one of the proposed alternatives as superior to the one suggested immediately preceding his speech.)

Example of scoring:

Subject	Statement	Score
1	Let's go this way	1 p 0
2	No, look at all the minuses	2 - 1
3	This way looks good	3 p 1
4	I like the hot line better.	4 - 3
3	The hot line is all minuses This path (his own) has 500	3 - 4
2	We could get 1000 this way (1's original suggestion--if it is not obvious that this promotes a previous suggestion, then score it p).	2 - 3

B. To determine Receiver of an act
   a) person to whom initiator looks or turns head
   b) person to whom the act makes logical sense in the context of what was previously said
   c) when (a) and (b) conflict, give priority to rule (b); that is, give the negative evaluation to the person to whom the context of the act seems to refer.
   d) see "L" and "M" below.

C. Responses to Action Opportunities
   1. A "yes" or "no" response to A such as "Do you want to go this way?" is scored as + or - to the person giving the action opportunity.
   2. All other responses to an A are scored as p unless the response throws back another action opportunity

Ex. Did you mean we should turn here?	1 A 2
No, only here.	2 p 1
What do you think we should do?	1 A 2
I don't know.	2 A (1 or 0)

D. "Yea" always scored positive evaluation.

E. Comments after the die has been thrown:
Do not score: a) Statements of fact about score, such as "We have 500 now."
b) Any remark made to the Host Experimenter
Do score: comments which relate to the task ahead or comments on paths taken, for example:
"I told you we shouldn't have gone that way" 1 - 2
"You really did well" 1 + 2
"Next time we should go straight" 1 p 0

F. If someone gives an order such as "I'll count this way and you count this way" score it as an action opportunity.

G. When a player counts out a path:

Score as a p when he is using this method of showing an alternative. Do not score if he is merely counting along a previously suggested path.

H. Action Opportunity to Self

Acts such as "wait a minute" and "Listen to me" and "Here is what I think" (not just "I think that ...") are scored as action opportunities to self. Statements following this act may be scored as positive or negative evaluation to self or another or as a performance output. Examples:

John: We should go this way. 1 p 3
Bill: Wait! 3 A 3
Here's a 500++ and... 3 p 1
Fred: Listen, I think we'd 4 - 3
better go straight down (John's suggestion)
because there's only one turn left.
John: I've got an idea! 1 A 1
Let's turn here and. . . 1 p 0 wait . . .
yes, this will work; turn1 + 1
here and go down there. 1 p 0

I. Interruptions

Don't score unless the interrupted act meets the following criteria:

a) You can identify all three scoring categories
b) His intent was clear to the group
c) The group heard him (even though they may have ignored him)--you are supposed to hear only what the group hears.

J. Marginal Remarks

The general rule is to score only acts which move the task ahead. Thus,

I hope we get a six. . . . . no score
I wonder how many turns it will take . . . . . p
How many turns do we have left? . . . . . no score

Strictly personal remarks have been moved to the other scoring system, therefore do not score such remarks as

We sure are smart
You're great

But do score

We took the right path 1 + 0
You had a good idea 1 + 3

K. Non-verbal Behavior

Only verbal behavior should be scored--body motions may be used to judge receiver of an act.

L. Scoring Recipient as Group (0)

If initiator looks at more than one person, score to the group.

M. Do not attempt to follow an argument over a series of acts so that you have one man disagreeing with the idea of another who proposed his plan some time back. If he is not disagreeing with the man he is addressing, just call it a performance unless he specifically tells you whose idea he doesn't like.

N. Performance outputs phrased as questions

"Do you want to go down here?" action opportunity (1 A 2). "We can go here and then down here, ok?" the first part of the act is scored as a performance output; whether or not "ok" is scored as an action opportunity will depend upon your judgement as to whether the speaker is actually requesting approval or merely using the word out of habit of speech. "How about. . ." The scoring of acting with this beginning may be scored solely as action opportunities, particularly if they are short and clearly addressed to one individual. However, often a player will preface an act with "How about . ." without giving any indication, either with ending inflection or with direction of eyes, that he intends to give someone else an opportunity to speak; in this case score the act only as a p. There will be cases, particularly in acts with more than one phrase, when both a p and A seem clearly intended, and in these cases give the speaker both acts, e.g., 1 p 4, 1 A 4.

O. Comparison of two or more paths

This problem has been partially discussed under (A). Acts such as "This has three and that has four" may not be decipherable to observers as a + or - and should then be scored as a p. A similar circumstance is the comparison of many alternatives as in "If we take this. . . and if we take this. . . and if we go here. . ." A multiple comparison such as this should be scored as a single p, not +'s and -'s for the players who originated the suggestions.

P. Scoring for specific acts which have been troublesome

Did you mean this way? 1 A 2
No, I meant down here. 2 p 1 (not 2 - 1 & 2 p 1; 2 is giving 1 requested information, not disagreeing with his suggestion)
Do you want to go down here? 1 p 2
Yes, and then we can turn over here. 2 + 1, 2 p 1
Wait! (or) Wait a minute. 4 A 4 (See H above)
That was my idea. no score
Here's a way. 1 p 2
I think we'll lose there 2 - 1
Yea, and there --'s all along the way 3 + 2
Ok, let's go. no score
Well, we don't have much choice. + to person suggesting the path.
I was the one who suggested that. no score
Better keep on going. performance output.
Hey, you want to try coming through here? action opportunity
We'd only win on that way with a 3. negative to suggestor of path
Anything but a 3 will do us good. no score
Hey, hey--this way, this way. A to self, p to self

Appendix H

MANUAL FOR OBSERVERS # 2

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  B. Releasing Tension Page 3
  C. Raising Status Page 4
  C. Lowering Status Page 5

IV. How to Score
  A. Identifying Subjects Page 6
  B. Abbreviations Page 6
  C. Scoring GS and RT Page 6
  D. Scoring RS and LS Page 6-7
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VI. Scoring Procedure Page 11

VII. Observer Reliability Page 11

I. Purposes:

The purpose of this study is to examine socio-emotional behavior and evaluations of black and white junior high school boys in small, task-oriented groups. The data which will be used to test hypotheses will come primarily from the work of observers who will score from pre-recorded video tapes. The success of the experiment depends upon accurate observation. It is, therefore essential that observers are totally familiar and comfortable with type act, evaluations and scoring procedure discussed below.

II. Definition of an "Act"

Observers will score both verbal and non-verbal behavior which is affectively charged or has affective consequences. An "act" is a single, continuous speech, explicative, or gesture of an individual. An act will be scored once so long as it: (1) remains in one category of type act (see below): and, (2) is not interrupted.

For example: laughter will be scored once until it subsides or is interrupted. If it resumes again, it would receive another score. If the individual who is laughing pats his team member on the back, his behavior has changed categories (type act) and he will be scored for this new behavior.

III. Type Act: (definition, abbreviation, and examples)

The following type acts are designed to include most of the socio-emotional behavior which occurs in these groups. They are: group solidarity, releasing tension, raising status, and lowering status.

A. Group Solidarity (GS)

1. Definition: Any verbal or nonverbal act which is directed toward the group and expresses a feeling of togetherness or an awareness that the task is a group effort.

2. Hints:
    a. The plural pronouns, "we", "us" or "our" are often used in GS acts.
    b. Both verbal and non-verbal GS acts are often value judgments.

3. Verbal Examples:
    a. Many GS acts come after the decision is made.
        1. "We're doing pretty good."
        2. "We got 600 points!"
        3. "We won."
        4. "We lost."
        5. "Just what we needed."
        6. "That was the highest score we could have gotten."
        7. "We blew it."
        8. "Yea, Hurrah" (any cheering)
    b. Some GS acts come before a decision has been made and refer to the subject's hopes for good luck on the roll of the die.
        1. "Start praying everybody."
        2. "We just gotta get a six."
        3. "I know we're going to get a double plus."
        4. "We'll make it, let's go."

4. Non verbal examples: Non verbal GS acts are displays of affection, camraderie and pleasure within the group.
    a. All S's clap their hands (especially likely after a move which gained a lot of points or the last move if they won.)
    b. All S's put their arms around one another's shoulders.
    c. All S's stack their hands on top of one another's on the game board.

B. Releasing Tension (RT)

1. Definition: Any verbal or nonverbal act which serves as an outlet for emotions of stress and strain.

2. Verbal Examples:
   a. Most RT acts seem to come after the die has been rolled. They are often explicatives indicating pleasure or disappointment with the score they received. The end of the game is also a likely place for releasing tension.
      1. All joking (example--'the dice is loaded."
      2. All laughing or giggling.
      3. Whistleing.
      4. Slang such as darn, shoot, heck, crud.
      5. Expressions of relief or dismay such as "ohhh", "hew", and "ick."
      6. "Oh well", "Oh boy," "Oh good."
      7. "750 points!"
      8. "minus 500!"
      9. "An extra turn!"
   b. Some verbal RT acts occur right before the die has been rolled.
      1. "Oh please, not a two."
      2. "C'mon six."
      3. "Don't land on a minus."
      4. "Please, an extra turn."

3. Non-verbal Examples:
   a. Drumming fingers on the board.
   b. Any S clapping when less than the whole group is clapping.
   c. Dropping head on the board in dismay.
   d. Covering up one's face in apprehension.
   e. Jumping around in one's seat.

C. Raising Status (RS)

1. Definition: Any verbal or nonverbal act which is specifically directed to any or all group members and expresses friendly interest, approval, respect or admiration.

2. Hints: The pronoun "you" is often used or implied in RS acts.

3. Verbal Examples:
   a. Some RS acts are those which are intended to give someone a chance to voice their opinion or bring someone into the game. (Often in form of a question.)
      1. "Is that OK with you?"
      2. "Do you want to go this way?"
      3. "What do you think?"
      4. "Do you agree?"
      5. "OK?"
      6. "Everybody agree?"
      7. "Now, it's your turn to place the chain."
      8. "Want to go this way?"
      9. "How about this way?"
   b. Other RS acts express positive reactions to a subject, ranging from simple approval to admiration.
      1. "You're right that's the way to go."
      2. "Look, his path is the best one."
      3. "Hey, that's a great idea Tom."
   c. There are a number of verbal techniques by which someone can raise their own status.
      1. "Didn't I tell you?"
      2. "Well, I was right."
      3. "See, I knew the way to go."
      4. "It's my turn."
      5. "Wait."
      6. "Hold on."
      7. "Listen to me."

4. Non-verbal Examples:
   a. Non verbal RS acts which raise another's status are usually between two subjects.
      1. Shaking hands.
      2. Patting someone on the shoulder or back.
      3. Putting an arm around someone.
      4. Handing another the chain to mark out the path.
   b. These are the most common ways of non verbally raising one's own status.
      1. Picking up the chain and charting path on board.
      2. Handleing the chain at any time.
      3. Leaning arm on the board and thereby blocking other S's view of it.
      4. Standing up and leaning over the board.

D. Lowering Status (LS)

1. Definition: Any verbal or nonverbal act which is specifically directed to any or all group members which expresses disapproval, annoyance, antagonism or is personally deflating.

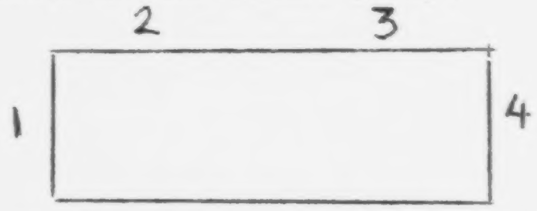
2. Hint: The pronoun "you" is often used or implied in the verbal LS act.

3. Verbal Examples:
    a. LS acts are often in the form of disagreement during the decision making process.
        1. "No, that would be dumb."
        2. "How do you think we'll win that way?"
        3. "Hey, you better not go that way."
        4. "C'mon Tom, look at all those minus points."
    b. Other LS acts cut off someone's participation.
        1. "Shut-up", "Shush", "Be quiet."
        2. "We've already tried your way."
        3. "It isn't your turn."
        4. "Give someone else a chance."
        5. "You always make the decisions."
    c. After the decision is made LS acts may take the form of negative evaluation of someone's idea. Sarcasm is a frequent form of negative evaluation.
        1. "Yeah, that was really a great move."
        2. "Boy, you really did it that time."
        3. "Why did you have to think of that."
        4. "That's your fault."

4. Non verbal examples: Most of the non verbal LS acts take place when subjects are charting the path.
    a. Taking the chain away from someone else. If two S's grab for the chain, the one who retains it is scored as lowering the status of the other subject who grabbed for it.
    b. Pushing someone's hand or arm off the board or away from the center of activity on the board.
    c. Lifting someone's fingers off the board.
    d. Pushing, hitting or any other hostile gesture.

IV. How to Score:

A. Identifying Subjects: Subjects will be numbered from left to right, 1, 2, 3, and 4. These numbers, rather than their names will be used to score. The number zero, "0" will used to designate the entire group.



B. Abbreviations: Each type act has an abbreviation which will be used to score the content of the act.

Type Act	Abbreviation
Group Solidarity	GS
Releasing Tension	RT
Raising Status	RS
Lowering Status	LS

C. Scoring GS and RT: These acts will be scored by listing the # of the initiator of the act first, (i.e. the one who makes the remark or gesture) and the abbreviation of type act beside the Subject's number.

For example:

Act	Score
Subject #1 laughs	1RT
Subject #2 cheers	2GS
The whole group claps	0GS
Subject #4 flops his head down on the board	4RT

D. Scoring RS and LS: These acts will be scored by listing the number of the subject who initiates the act, the abbreviation of type act, and the number of the subject who is the recipient of the act, in that order.

1. Examples:

Act	Score
Man 2 says to man 3, "you're path is good."	2RS3
Man 3 says to the other subjects, "you guys sure goofed."	3LS1,2,4
Man 1 says, "Wait!"	1RS1
Man 4 charts the path with the chain.	4RS4
Man 3 moves the fingers of man 4 off the board.	3LS4

2. Guidance for determining recipient: It is sometimes difficult to determine to whom an act is directed. The following are some guidelines:
   a. Watch the eyes of the initiator. He will often look at the person to whom he is directing his remarks.
   b. Often the speaker will be responding to a previous remark made by someone else, although he is not looking at him.
   c. If the speaker is not looking at any other subject, but another subject has just asked him a question, the questioner is probably the recipient.
   d. If the speaker has looked at two or more subjects while talking, score each one separately as the recipient.
   e. If the speaker is not looking at anyone but he has addressed his last few remarks to someone in particular and is continuing with the same subject, score the previous recipient as recipient.
   f. Sometimes a subject will look at all his team members when speaking. If you are certain that this has occurred score the entire group as recipient. Do not use it as a default category, i.e. when you are confused. Go back and watch the interaction again to determine the recipient

E. Scoring Ambigious Situations: There are three major types of ambiguity in scoring. The first concerns acts which are on the borderline between purely task and purely socio-emotional behavior. The problem is whether to score these acts at all.

The second form of ambiguity concerns acts which are on the borderline between two categories (type acts.) The problem is which category is appropriate for scoring these acts.

The third type of ambiguity arises when two different acts are performed simultaneously or two acts are contained in the same sentence. The problem is to catch both acts and score them both.

1. Acts which border between task and socio-emotional behavior:
   a. RS or Task:
      1. Acts which follow a proposed course of action must include seeking confirmation from other subjects to be scored RS. Thus:

Act	Score
"This is the best way , agree?"	RS
"Let's go this way."	No score
"Want to go this way?"	RS
"Yeah, we should go this way."	No score
"How about taking the hot line?"	RS

2. Acts which positively evaluate a move or an idea must include personal reference to the initiator of the idea to be scored RS. Thus:

Act	Score
"James, that's a good idea."	RS
"That's a good idea."	No score
"You're right, that's the best way."	RS
"That's a good way."	No score
"See, I was right."	RS
"OK let's go that way."	No score

b. LS or Task?: Similarly, acts which negatively evaluate a move or a suggestion must include personal reference to the initiator of the act to be scored LS. Thus:

Act	Score
"You guys really messed up."	LS
"That was a bad move."	No score
"You're wrong."	LS
"We'll never kill the bull going your way."	LS
"That path won't get us to the goal."	No score

c. GS or Task?: There are several acts which are sometimes scored GS and sometimes not scored. The only way to determine if these remarks should be scored is by evaluating the emphasis and emotion with which they are said. If they are said with emphasis and emotion, they should be scored GS. If not, they should not be scored. Here are some typical examples.

"We have 700 points."
"We need an extra turn."
"We lost 200 points."
"We need a one."
"We lost a turn."
"We don't need a four or six."

2. Acts which border between two categories of type act:
  a. RT or GS?
    1. Most expressions of relief or dismay are RT. The following are exceptions.

Act	Score
Cheering by any or all Subjects	GS
Chapping by all subjects at same time.	GS

    2. Many acts that are scored as RT will be scored as GS when the pronoun "we", "us", or "our" are used. Thus:

Act	Score
"Please a six."	RT
"We need a six."	GS
"750 points!"	RT
"We got 750 points."	GS
"An extra turn!"	RT
"We got an extra turn!"	GS

b. RS or GS?: There are some RS acts which use the words "everybody" or "you all" in which one subject is raising the status of three other subjects. These should be scored RS. Thus:

Act	Score
"Everbody agree?"	RS
"We all agree."	GS
"Is that OK with you all?"	RS
"It's fine with all of us."	GS

3. Acts which occur simultaneously or in the same sentence:

a. RT and GS: The following are examples of instances when both RT and GS scores should be recorded.

Act	Score
Cheering and clapping at the same time, when less than all are clapping.	GS RT
"An extra turn, Yea!"	RT GS
"We lost 700 points, Shoot!"	GS RT

b. RS and LS:

1. One sentence can contain both an RS and LS act. Thus:

Act	Score
"I told you that was wrong."	RS (self) LS (other)
"I goofed! You guys decide."	LS (self) RS (other)

2. When the chain is placed on the board, two or more subjects may reach toward it. The subject who ends up with the chain is scored as raising his own status and lowering the status of the other subject or subjects who reached for the chain. If more than one subject is actually manipulating the chain each is scored as raising their own status.

V. Observer Evaluations:

This form requests observers to make evaluations of the contributions of group members to the task and to describe the relationship between the group members and the leader. These are subjective evaluations which are not expected to be precise. It is possible that an observer will be unable to identify a leader in some groups or unable to decide on the rank order of best ideas and guidance in some groups. If this occurs, indicate who were the top two or three participants in the group. Please make every attempt to fill out this form.

VI. Scoring Prodecure:

A. Observer Forms: All observation must be scored on the two forms provided for that purpose. Before you begin, write your name, the date you are observing, the group letter and group number in the spaces provided on both forms.

B. Length of Time to Observe: Each turn should be watched at least three times. Difficult turns (in which there is a lot of socio-emotional behavior) may have to be watched four, five or six times. Complete the scoring of each turn before going on to the next turn.

C. At the completion of the game:

1. First, write down on a separate sheet of paper any ambiguous situations or other problems you encountered in scoring that group. Entitle them "Problem Sheets."

2. Fill out the Observer Evaluation form.

3. Go over your scores on the Observer Scoring Sheet to make sure that they are all legible.

4. Turn in completed forms to staff member.

5. Leave a written message to the staff member listing your name, the date the group was watched, the group number and group letter.

VII. Observer Reliability:

A. One tape (two groups) of every three tapes scored will be scored by all the observers for weekly reliability checks. Observers will not know which tape they are scoring in common.

B. Weekly meetings between observers and staff members will be held to check reliability on tapes scored in common and to discuss the problems each observer may have encountered scoring specific games. Please bring problem sheets to these meetings.

Appendix I

OBSERVER EVALUATIONS

Observer____________________ Group Number________________
Date Observed_______________ Group Letter________________

1. Rank order members of the group according to contribution of best ideas (suggestions) in the game.

   1. Name____________________ Seat #__________
   2. Name____________________ Seat #__________
   3. Name____________________ Seat #__________
   4. Name____________________ Seat #__________

2. Rank order members of the group according to the amount of guidance and direction (keeping things moving) each contributed.

   1. Name____________________ Seat #__________
   2. Name____________________ Seat #__________
   3. Name____________________ Seat #__________
   4. Name____________________ Seat #__________

3. Overall, who would you say stood out as the leader in the group?
   Name ____________________ Seat #__________

4. Circle the category which best describes the amount of resistance faced by the leader.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
He had a very difficult time getting his suggestions followed.	He had a moderate amount of difficulty.	He had a fairly easy time getting his way.	He had very little resistance. Almost no disagreements.

5. Circle the category which best describes the type of resistance the leader faced.

(1)	(2)	(3)
Mainly counter-suggestions Other members offer competing suggestions to those of the leader.	Mainly task disagreements with leaders suggestions.	Task disagreements or counter suggestions plus personal negative evaluations.

6. Circle the category which best describes the way in which the leader dealt with resistance to him. (you may circle more than one)

(1)	(2)	(3)
Used logical task-orented explanations to support his suggestions	Won support for his suggestions by being friendly and supportive to others in the group.	Tried to intimidate the other members by ignoring disagreement and being hostile to other suggestions.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

Appendix J

POST TEST INTERVIEW

Date: __________ Subject Name: _________________

Group Number: ______ Seating Position: __________

Interviewer: _______________

1. Was it important to you to play **Kill** the Bull? Would you say it was:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Unimportant	Unimportant	Very Unimportant

2. Here is a picture of where each of you sat while playing the game

Please rate all the members of the team including yourself on the following:

A. Who had the best ideas in the game?,.the next best?, the third best?, the least best?

1. Name_____________________ Seating Position__________
2. Name_____________________ Seating Position__________
3. Name_____________________ Seating Position__________
4. Name_____________________ Seating Position__________

B. Who did the most to guide and direct the group (keep things moving) while playing the game? the second, third/fourth most?

1. Name_____________________ Seating Position__________
2. Name_____________________ Seating Position__________
3. Name_____________________ Seating Position__________
4. Name_____________________ Seating Position__________

POST TEST INTERVIEW - 2

C. Of the other three members of the team which fellow did you like the most, the next most, the least?

1. Name______________________ Seating Position__________
2. Name______________________ Seating Position__________
3. Name______________________ Seating Position__________

D. Of the other three members of the team, which fellow did you dislike the most, the next most, the least?

1. Name______________________ Seating Position__________
2. Name______________________ Seating Position__________
3. Name______________________ Seating Position__________

3. Overall, who would you say stood out as leader of the group? (include yourself)

Name______________________ Seating Position__________

4. How do you feel about participating in this group? Would you say you:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Enjoyed it a lot	Enjoyed it	Enjoyed it a little	Felt neutral about it	Did not enjoy it

5. Did you ever feel at a disadvantage in this study?

Yes______ No______

6. Did anything make you angry at any time?

Yes______ No______

7. Would you consider coming back and helping us with another study?

Yes______ No______

8. Thank you for helping us today.

Additional comments: